

TOBB UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES

**SARAÇOĞLU NEIGHBORHOOD: PAST, PRESENT AND PERSPECTIVES
FOR THE FUTURE**



MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE

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TEZ BİLDİRİMİ

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ABSTRACT

Master of Architecture

SARAÇOĞLU NEIGHBORHOOD: PAST, PRESENT AND PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

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Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, designed by Paul Bonatz to meet the housing needs of civil servants and built between 1944 and 1946, has become a collapsed area in the city center of Ankara because of its inadequateness against the changing demands of the city. The neighborhood which enters the agenda of urban transformation and is in danger of collapse by declaration as a risky area, is often the subject of debate with land rent pressure, its place in the city memory and representation value. This debate is an inadequate debate on the solution of the future of the neighborhood.

This study evaluates the future of the area with the view that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood has developed from the determination of the causes of its becoming a dilapidated housing area in the city center. Instead of producing scenarios for future design and transformation of the area, it has tried to put forward the principles that should be included in the scenarios to be produced.

It is argued that the future of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood should be taken into consideration in parallel with the stages of Ankara's urbanization process and Kızılay

city center since the experience of the city's development inevitably affects the city center and Saraçođlu Neighborhood. The urbanization process of Ankara, the experience of urbanization up to date was taken up with sociological and ideological approaches affecting urban space, economic changes and architectural trends in the study. As a result of a comprehensive review of the effects of the changing urban paradigms on Saraçođlu Neighborhood, environmental, physical and economic impacts are defined to prepare the area to become a collapsed area and it has been determined that the future of the area should be evaluated together with Kızılay. In this context, perspectives on the future of Kızılay have been developed and the current problems and potentials of Saraçođlu Neighborhood and the future pressures and opportunities have been examined.

As a result, design principles have been developed that will allow the area to re-join the city center and respond to potential problems that may arise in the future, with inferences made from problem-potential and pressure-opportunity dualities.

Keywords: Saraçođlu Neighborhood, Ankara urbanization process, Urban transformation.

ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

SARAÇOĞLU MAHALLESİ: GEÇMİŞ, BUGÜN VE GELECEK İÇİN PERSPEKTİFLER

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Tarih: Ağustos 2018

Devlet memurlarının konut ihtiyacını karşılamak amacıyla Paul Bonatz tarafından tasarlanan ve 1944-1946 yılları arasında inşa edilen Saraçoğlu Mahallesi, Ankara kent merkezinde, değişen kentin talepleri karşısında yetersiz kalarak çöküntü alanı haline gelmiştir. Riskli alan ilan edilerek kentsel dönüşümün gündemine giren ve yıkılma tehlikesi geçiren mahalle, genellikle rant baskısı, kent belleğindeki yeri ve temsil değeri aracılığı ile tartışma konusu olmaktadır. Bu tartışma alanın geleceğine dair çözüm üretme açısından yetersiz bir tartışmadır.

Bu çalışma, Saraçoğlu Mahallesi'nin kent merkezinde köhneleşmiş bir konut alanı haline gelmesinin nedenlerinin tespitinden yola çıkarak geliştirdiği bakış açısı ile, alanın geleceğine dair değerlendirmede bulunmuştur. Alanın gelecek tasarımına ve dönüşümüne dair senaryolar üretmek yerine, üretilecek olan senaryoların içermesi gereken ilkeleri ortaya koymaya çalışmıştır.

Kentin gelişimini yönlendiren deneyimlerin kent merkezini ve Saraçoğlu Mahallesi'ni kaçınılmaz olarak etkilemesinden dolayı, Saraçoğlu Mahallesi'nin geleceğinin, Ankara'nın kentleşme süreci ve Kızılay kent merkezinin geçirdiği evrelerle paralel olarak ele alınması gerektiği savunulmaktadır. Çalışmada, Ankara'nın planlanma süreçleri, günümüze kadar olan kentleşme deneyimi, kentsel mekanı etkileyen sosyolojik ve ideolojik yaklaşımlar, ekonomik değişimler ve mimari eğilimlerle birlikte ele alınmıştır. Değişen kentsel paradigmanın Saraçoğlu Mahallesi üzerindeki etkilerini içeren kapsamlı inceleme sonucunda, alanın çöküntü alanı haline gelmesini hazırlayan çevresel, fiziksel ve ekonomik etkiler belirlenmiş ve alanın geleceğinin Kızılay ile birlikte değerlendirilmesi gerektiği ortaya koyulmuştur. Bu kapsamda Kızılay'ın geleceğine dair perspektifler geliştirilmiş, Saraçoğlu Mahallesi'nin mevcut problemleri ve potansiyelleri ile geleceğine dair baskı ve fırsatlar incelenmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, problem-potansiyel ve baskı-fırsat ikilikleri üzerinden yapılan çıkarımlarla alanın yeniden kent merkezine katılmasını ve gelecekte karşılaşması muhtemel problemlere yanıt vermesini sağlayacak tasarım ilkeleri geliştirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Saraçoğlu Mahallesi, Ankara kentsel gelişimi, Kentsel dönüşüm.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to my advisor Asst. Prof. Dr. Aktan Acar for the patient guidance, constant support, constructive criticism and suggestions regarding this study. I would like to thank to examining committee, Prof.Dr. T. Nur Çağlar, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Savaş Zafer Şahin, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burcu Özüduru and Asst. Prof. Dr. Selda Bancı for their valuable suggestions and contributions.

I would also like to thank the faculty members of TOBB University of Economics and Technology Department of Architecture for the scholarship provided during my postgraduate study.

Finally, I would like to convey my deepest thanks to my friends and parents for their continuous support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
DECLARATION OF THE THESIS	iii
TEZ BİLDİRİMİ	iv
ABSTRACT	v
ÖZET	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
ABBREVIATIONS	xiv
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Aim of the Study	2
1.2 Method of the Study	3
1.3 Overview of the Area	5
2. PLANNING SARAÇOĞLU NEIGHBORHOOD IN ANKARA	9
2.1 Planning the District and the City	9
2.2 Ideology and Reflections on Architecture.....	14
2.3 Architecture of Paul Bonatz	19
2.4 An Urban Design Experiment: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood.....	22
3. BREAKDOWN OF AN IDEA: TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY AND THE CITY CENTER	39
3.1 Postwar Reflections on Ankara	39
3.2 Between 1960-1980: The City Under Planning	45
3.3 Globalization and Transformation of the City After 1980	49
3.4 Current Planning Searches for Ankara	57
3.5 Identity Crisis of the Capital City	60
3.6 Transformation of Kızılay the City Center.....	65
3.7 An Urban Loss: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood	75
4. CONCLUSION: ON THE FUTURE OF SARAÇOĞLU NEIGHBORHOOD	87
4.1 Perspectives on Kızılay and Ankara’s Future	87
4.2 Problems and Potentials of the Area	91
4.3 Opportunities and Pressures on the Area’s Future Design.....	98
4.4 Principles for a Sustainable Solution of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood	102
4.5 Prospect of a Future Urban Neighborhood: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood	112
REFERENCES	115
CURRICULUM VITAE	121

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 2.1: Ankara city population, plan period and plan population estimates between 1920-1955.	14
Table 3.1: Ankara city population, plan period and plan population estimates between 1957-2018.	60
Table 3.2: Important dates for Saraçođlu Neighborhood.	86



LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Figure 1.1: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Başağaç, 2017).....	4
Figure 1.2: Location of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood.....	6
Figure 1.3: Location of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (based on Google-Earth, 2018).	7
Figure 2.1: Ankara from the station, 1922-1923 (Sağdıç, 1994).	9
Figure 2.2: Lörcher Plan, 1924-1925 (ABB, 2006, p. 54).	11
Figure 2.3: Jansen Plan, 1932 (ABB, 2006, p. 55).....	13
Figure 2.4: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood housing perspective (Sayar, 1946).	18
Figure 2.5: Model of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Sayar, 1946).....	23
Figure 2.6: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood sketch drawn by Paul Bonatz (Akcan, 2009, s. 365).	24
Figure 2.7: Social facilities of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood.	25
Figure 2.8: Master plan of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Sayar, 1946).	26
Figure 2.9: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Çavdar, 2017).	28
Figure 2.10: Perspectives from common garden towards Ankara Castle (Akcan, 2009, p. 364).	29
Figure 2.11: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood sketch drawn by Paul Bonatz (Çavdar, 2017).	30
Figure 2.12: One of the housing facade of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Type B) (Sayar, 1946).	31
Figure 2.13: Locations of blocks A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H (based on Tanrıverdi, 2012).	33
Figure 2.14: Type A housing plan (based on Alsaç, 1946).....	34
Figure 2.15: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood plan and facade drawings (Sayar, 1946).....	36
Figure 2.16: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood housing perspective (Sayar, 1946).	37
Figure 3.1: Rapid urbanizations and squatter areas in the 1960s, Ankara (Günay, 2006).	41
Figure 3.2: Yücel-Uybadin Development Plan, 1957 (ABB, 2006, p. 56).	43
Figure 3.3: The effect of District Height Regulation in Kızılay and its environs (Günay, 2006).	44
Figure 3.4: 1990 Ankara Development-Master Plan, 1982 (ABB, 2006, p. 57).	48
Figure 3.5: Ankara 2015 Structural Plan, 1986 (ABB, 2006, p. 58).....	54
Figure 3.6: Ankara 2025 Metropolitan Area Sub-Region Master Plan, 1990 (ABB, 2006, p. 59).	55
Figure 3.7: 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan, 2007 (ABB, 2006, p. 705).....	57
Figure 3.8: Macroform Limits of Planning Studies (ABB, 2006, p. 75).	60
Figure 3.9: View of from Ulus to Bankalar Street (Sağdıç, 1994).	65
Figure 3.10: View from Kızılay residential area in the 1940s (Gökçe, 2008, p. 117).	66
Figure 3.11: Kızılay in the 1950-1960s (Gökçe, 2008, p. 118).	67
Figure 3.12: Two Centers of Ankara, the 1970s. (Akçura, 1971, p. 111).....	68

Figure 3.13: Two centers and characteristics of Ankara, the 1970s (Akçura, 1971, p. 120).....	69
Figure 3.14: Güvenpark dolmuş stops, the 1970s (Vatan Gazetesi, 2018).	71
Figure 3.15: Kızılay and its environs, which are concentrated at the 1970-1980s (Günay, 2006).....	72
Figure 3.16: Comparison of the city centers of Ankara, 1970 and 1985 (Bademli, 1987).....	73
Figure 3.17: Administration buildings added over time.	76
Figure 3.18: Boundaries of Bakanlıklar District and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood administrative site area (ABB, 2006, p. 397).	79
Figure 3.19: Neglected houses in Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Başağaç, 2017).	84
Figure 3.20: Parking problem of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Başağaç, 2017).	85
Figure 4.1: Yenişehir in Jansen Plan (on the left) (Cengizkan, 2010), Yenişehir, today (on the right) (based on Google-Earth, 2018).	90
Figure 4.2: Decay on the building facades (Başağaç, 2017).	94
Figure 4.3: The 94 th -Street and the 93 rd -Street.	96
Figure 4.4: Urban pattern of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Üreten Ankara, 2018).	99
Figure 4.5: Some of the houses on the ground floor have used for commercial purposes in Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Başağaç, 2017).	100

ABBREVIATIONS

ABB	: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality
AKTVKBK	: Ankara Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board
AMANP	: 1990 Ankara Development-Master Plan
AMANPB	: Metropolitan Ankara Planning Office
METU	: Middle East Technical University
TMMOB	: The Unions of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects
TOKİ	: Housing Development Administration of Turkey



1. INTRODUCTION

Saraçođlu Neighborhood is a residential area in the city center that is on the agenda of urban transformation together with the risky area announcement. The area which is in danger of collapsing as a result of the risky area declaration is generally a subject of discussion through its place in the city memory and its representation value. Competitions were opened, negotiations were held, academic studies were produced and conservation plans were prepared to discuss the future of Saraçođlu Neighborhood. Among them, there was 8th-Urban Dreams Competition held by TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch in 2013 to discuss the future of Saraçođlu Neighborhood (Batuman, 2014). Through this competition, the attention of the Turkish architectural environment has been attentioned. Significant information has been obtained in terms of the emergence of ideas on the area of the Turkish architectural environment. The competition project proposals are generally focused on increasing the urban and public values of the area. However, 8th-Urban Dreams Competition is not intended to solve the problems of the neighborhood. After the competition, the institutions, who have authority over the area, came together to determine the future of the area (Batuman, 2014). Due to conflicts and incompatibilities between the competent institutions, solutions for the future of the area could not be produced in the negotiations. Therefore, the negotiations for the future of the area have been finalized and the competition projects have not been implemented.

Academic studies on the area are generally discussed on historical perspective, conservation, restoration and urban opposition of the neighborhood. Erkan (1996) has studied the area through republican ideology, tradition and modernity. Tanrıverdi (2012) has proposed to restore the neighborhood. Işık (2016) has examined the area through urban transformation and city right. From the time the area was designed, it has generally been discussed in relation to its design criteria, historical value and early republican architecture. In this respect, the articles of Alsaç (1946), Sayar (1946) and

Bayraktar (2011) draw attention as the main source. In METU Department of Architecture, students worked on the neighborhood in the design studio under the management of Kabar (1978) and Özgüner. Students have developed different approaches to the area (Kabar, 1978). In 2013, after the neighborhood was announced as a risky area, the academic work on the neighborhood focused on the disaster risk legislation, the urban transformation and the danger of destruction of the area. For example; Kuran and Ak Kuran (2017) have examined the area together with the disaster risk law and Batuman (2014) has examined the area through urban opposition.

In 2018, a conservation plan for the area was prepared (TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, 2018b). The plan has caused numerous debates and there was no definitive information on its implementation. Works and debates regarding the future of the neighborhood are insufficient to understand the conditions that created the present state of the area and to produce perspectives on its future. The neighborhood does not have a holistic assessment of its surroundings, architectural features, historical identity and technical competence.

1.1 Aim of the Study

This study aims to present the transformation of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood represses it faced, along with the urbanization of Ankara and transformation of the city center. In order to investigate the future prospects of the area, this study reviewed the conditions that brought the area to the present day. This thesis work argues that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood continues to exist as an area that having an uncertain future in the city center. It is argued that the causes of this situation are hidden in the influence of Ankara's urbanization period and the city center's changes on the area. For this reason, the planning experiences of Ankara and the city center of Kızılay, the urbanization process and the socio-economic impacts affecting this process were examined in parallel with the architectural and urban design values of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and its position in the city center and the urban controversies. As a result of these examinations, the study aimed to determine the pressures and potentials on the area and to develop the transformational principles for the future prospect of the neighborhood.

Those principles are supposed to be a bridge between the past, present and the future. This bridge is being built with the causes and consequences dating from the past of the city center and Saraçođlu Neighborhood to the present; it sheds light on the future through the interpretation of relations. With this thesis, in order to understand and solve today's problems of the area, a retrospective reading and inferences about the future was made. By examining the reasons for setting up the collapse of the area, such as functional conditions, functional problems, material endurance, changing surrounding pressure, and the themes such as resilience, flexibility, sustainability, that will be important when formation the future of the neighborhood will be determined and thus a suitable conversion scenario will be provided for the area.

1.2 Method of the Study

The architectural and urban characteristics of the area should be examined as a whole in order to discuss the future of the neighborhood. Saraçođlu Neighborhood is a unique example in terms of urban, historical, economic and social dimensions with respect to its construction conditions, its position in the city center, its reactions to urban development, changes and its current situation (Figure 1.1). In order to ensure the future of the area that has become collapsed in the city center, the development and transformation of the area should be examined as a whole with respect to the political and spatial dynamics, and the problems of the city of Ankara and the city center. As a result of these reviews, sustainable and resilient transformation scenarios can be produced.



Figure 1.1: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Başagaç, 2017).

The reasons for the area's breakdown in the city center are considered as a valuable lesson for the future. The causes, consequences and transformation process of the present problems of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood were revealed through the comparable examination of the city and the neighborhood. In order to determine the principles and roadmap for the future of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, the building process of the area and the change process up to the day were examined. In this context, the thesis is structured in three main parts; planning history and issues of Ankara and city center, transformation of the city center and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and the neighborhood's future.

The first part is the planning process of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and Ankara. In this section, the city's first development plans, Lörcher and Jansen Plans, and the design of the neighborhood within urban scenarios are examined. The relationship of the neighborhood with urban space and the quality of architectural design are taken up with the architectural stance of architect Paul Bonatz. The years that the area had been designed have socio-economically distinctive features and they are the years when ideological trends have affected architecture. For this reason, design, planning and trends are considered together. From this holistic perspective, the traces and causes of the problems of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood are presented.

The second part is formed by examining Ankara's rapid urbanization experience and the spatial, cultural and social transformations of the city center Kızılay and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood. Different management and planning approaches affecting the formation of the city are examined. The fact that Kızılay became a city center and its effect on Saraçoğlu Neighborhood is explained. In addition to urbanization process, changing world values and the effects of this change on the identity of the capital are revealed. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood's transformations and interventions and the reflections of the changing values and spatial transformations of capital on the neighborhood are explored. This section, with the change of the city center and the city, it is aimed to clarify the reasons for the present state of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and the pressures on and debates about it.

In both stages, a multi-faceted and dynamic view that includes ideological, socio-cultural, economic and political factors that affect the formation of urban space is utilized. The examination of these factors, which are effective in the transformation of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, has provided a multi-dimensional and comprehensive view of the vision produced for the future of the area and Kızılay.

The last part of the thesis aims at revealing the values of the future of Saraçoğlu neighborhood on the basis of the previous chapters. By analyzing the pressures, problems, values and potentials that influence the formation of the future of the area; principles for the future design of the area are proposed.

1.3 Overview of the Area

Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was designed by architect Paul Bonatz (Nicolai, 2011, p. 279). The neighborhood, which was built between 1945 and 1946, is designed in the direction of the Second National Style (Bozdoğan, 2002a, p. 247). Saraçoğlu Neighborhood is a civil servant settlement which serves the Bakanlıklar District.

Saraçoğlu neighborhood is adjacent to Bakanlıklar District (Figure 1.2). In the Bakanlıklar District, there are Prime Ministry, Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of National Education, Court of Cassation and Ministry of Interior, each of which is an example of early republic architecture. The neighborhood is adjacent to Ministry of National Defense in the south. The Ministry of National Defense was designed by Clemens Holzmeister between 1927 and 1931 (Batur, 1983, p. 1389). The

neighborhood is adjacent to Prime Ministry in the east. The Prime Ministry was designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem between 1937-1938 (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 110). Also, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood is adjacent to Kızılay and Güvenpark (Figure 1.3). Güvenpark is a recreation area designed during the early republic period, with the Güven Monument designed by Clemenz Holmeister (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 61). Bakanlıklar District, Kızılay and Güvenpark are placed representing the early republic period and period's architecture. These areas are designed in Jansen Plan (Günay, 2006). In the Jansen Plan, balance and continuity between green spaces and built environments are emphasized (Kayasü, 2006). Bakanlıklar District, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and its surroundings are rare areas where the Jansen Plan design preserves its physical presence (Günay, 2006). Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and the surroundings is a part of the architectural identity of both Ankara and Turkey. The neighborhood is not only valuable in terms of being located in the city center, it is a part of the region which periodically and spatially reflects the identity of the Republic, as well.



Figure 1.2: Location of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood.

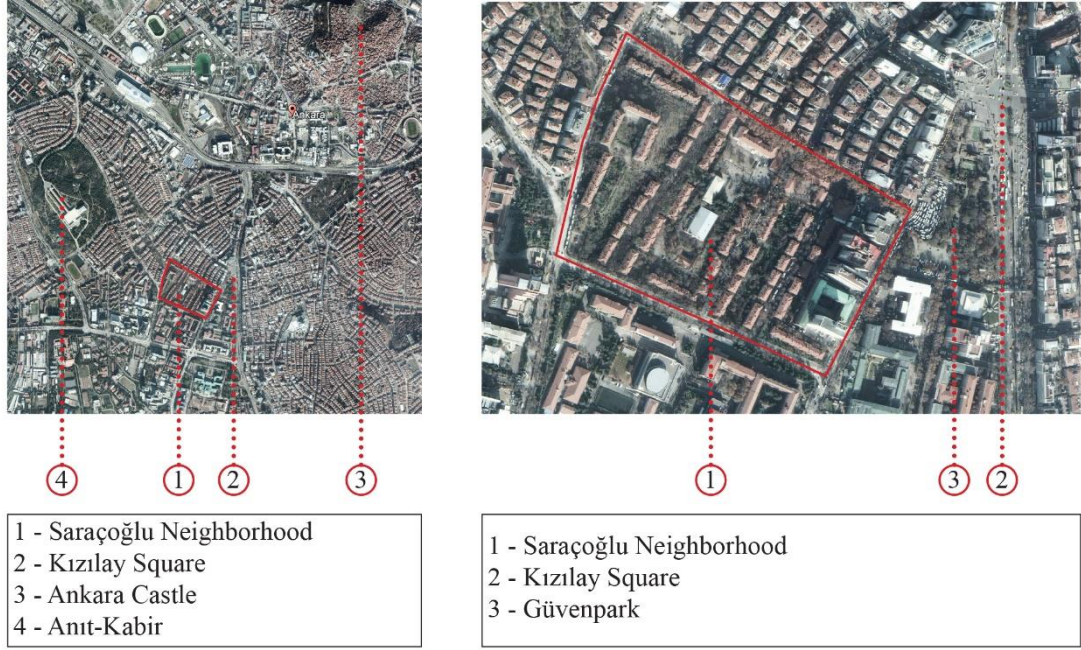


Figure 1.3: Location of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (based on Google-Earth, 2018).

Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was established in the area that surrounded by Kumrular Street in the north, Necatibey Street in the east, Yahya Galip Street in the south and Milli Müdafa Street in the west. It is adjacent to Bakanlıklar District, Güvenpark, military area and commercial buildings at Kumrular and Necatibey Streets. In the neighborhood, 93rd-Street (1st-Street), 94th-Street (2nd-Street), 95th-Street (3rd-Street), Dip Street and Son Street are located (Figure 1.2). There are high-rise public buildings in the area which is designed as recreation areas opened to Milli Müdafa Street in the west (AKTVKBK, 1993). The perceivability of the area and the green spaces integrated with Güvenpark in the original design has lost.

It is understood that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood is an important area in terms of urban memory and socio-cultural values of urban space. It is also in a special situation due to its position in the city center and the central point of urban transportation. The value of the neighborhood in the city memory and the situation of the neighborhood in the city center requires discussing the future of the area. In order to discuss the future of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, it is necessary to show how the area came to today. Considering and planning the future of the area will be incomplete and erroneous without revealing the conditions that brought the neighborhood to its present state.



2. PLANNING SARAÇOĞLU NEIGHBORHOOD IN ANKARA

2.1 Planning the District and the City

Ankara was declared as the capital of Turkey on October 13, 1923. It was unofficially fulfilling the mission of a capital city since the Independence War which was ruled from there on and the new administration was internationally defined as the Ankara Government (Batur, 1983, p. 1384). The population was around 25,000 then, and the main settlement was around Ankara Castle and its foothill (Tankut, 1981) (Figure 2.1). As Batur (1983, p. 1384) states, the selection of Ankara as the capital city instead of Istanbul was an ideological decision. Ankara has historically emerged as a city that gained importance with the Independence War and the New Republic. Istanbul leaves the function of being the administrative center for centuries to Ankara (Batur, 1983, p. 1384). Ankara was the first example of a modern and planned city that represented the modern life of the new Republic while Ankara gained the function of being the administrative center of the new nation-state (Tekeli, 2010).

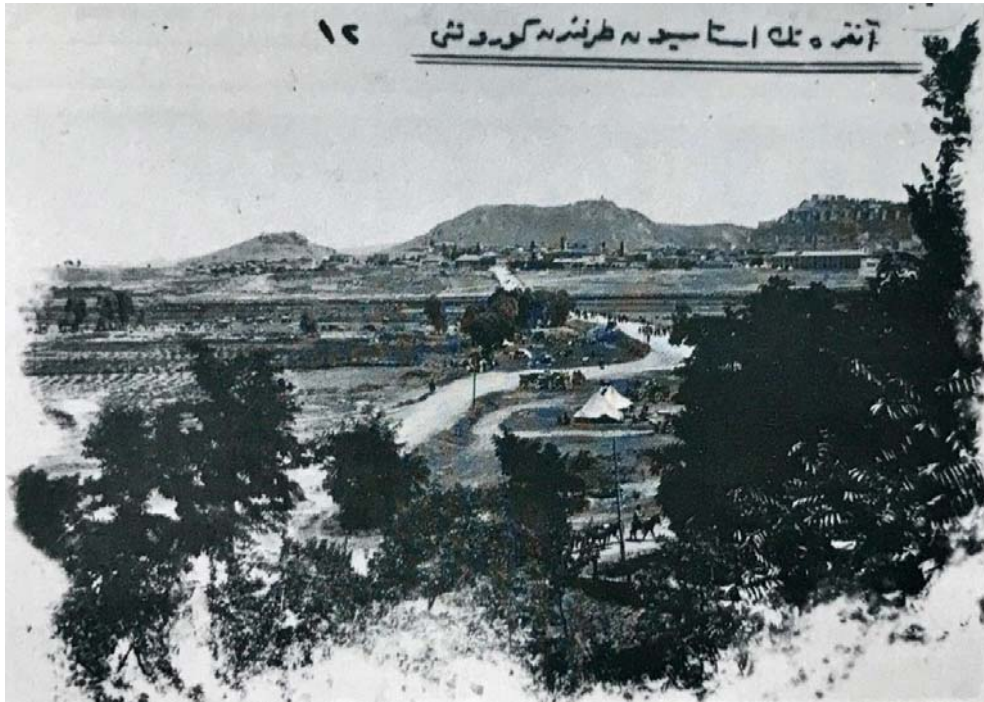


Figure 2.1: Ankara from the station, 1922-1923 (Sağdıç, 1994).

After having been declared as the capital city, administrative officers and state institutions that had been located in Istanbul were moved to Ankara (Cengizkan, 2011). As a result, Ankara faced a rapid incoming migration and significant spatial and social changes. In 1927, the population of the city reached 74,000 (Tankut, 1998). The population increased by almost 50,000 people in four years, showing the size of migration the city took. According to Cengizkan (2011), until the post-Second World War for the proposal and for the future of the city, all investments were used for Ankara. Cengizkan (2011, p. 26) expresses that it makes sense when it is considered parallel to “a model city, a model community, a model life creation purpose”. According to Batur (1983, p. 1385), municipality spent which was 28 per person in 1927 in Ankara became 23 per person by 1931 across Turkey. When Ankara is considered as the model city of the republic together with the fact that the inadequacies of the present city and the rapidly growing population, the investments made in Ankara and the budget allocated for these investments gain clarity.

The housing problem has increased rapidly as Ankara has been heavily immigrated in the early years of the republic. Tankut (1981) examines the housing problem at four levels:

- The rapidly growing housing shortage,
- The old housing stock that is unavailable,
- Low standards of new housing,
- Macro form distortion in residential areas, resulting in unplanned residences.

The increasing pressure of the housing problem, the unplanned construction of the public buildings and the modern capital city have brought the urban planning of Ankara to the agenda. The experiences in that period for the planning of Ankara can be examined in two basic axioms: practical applications for the city's planned construction and regulations that increase the capacity to plan and, manage the cities of the future (Tekeli, 2010).

The first organizational initiative for the planning of Ankara was the establishment of Ankara Şehremaneti (municipality) in 1924 (Cengizkan, 2011). Practices such as the city's infrastructure regulations, the drying of swamps and the establishment of factories for city service are among the activities of the Ankara Municipality

(Şehremanet) (Tankut, 1988). Given these practices, it is understood that the city had entered into an organization for implementation before planning. One of the important activities of the Ankara Municipality was the expropriation of 300,000 hectares of land, which determined the growth direction of the city and the empty settlement south of Old Ankara as a new settlement area (Tankut, 1988). Ankara Development Directorate was established in 1928 due to the need for a larger organization (Tankut, 1988). Between these dates, two master plan and urban planning strategy were initiated. These plans were the Lörcher Plan of 1924-1925 and the Jansen Plan of 1932.

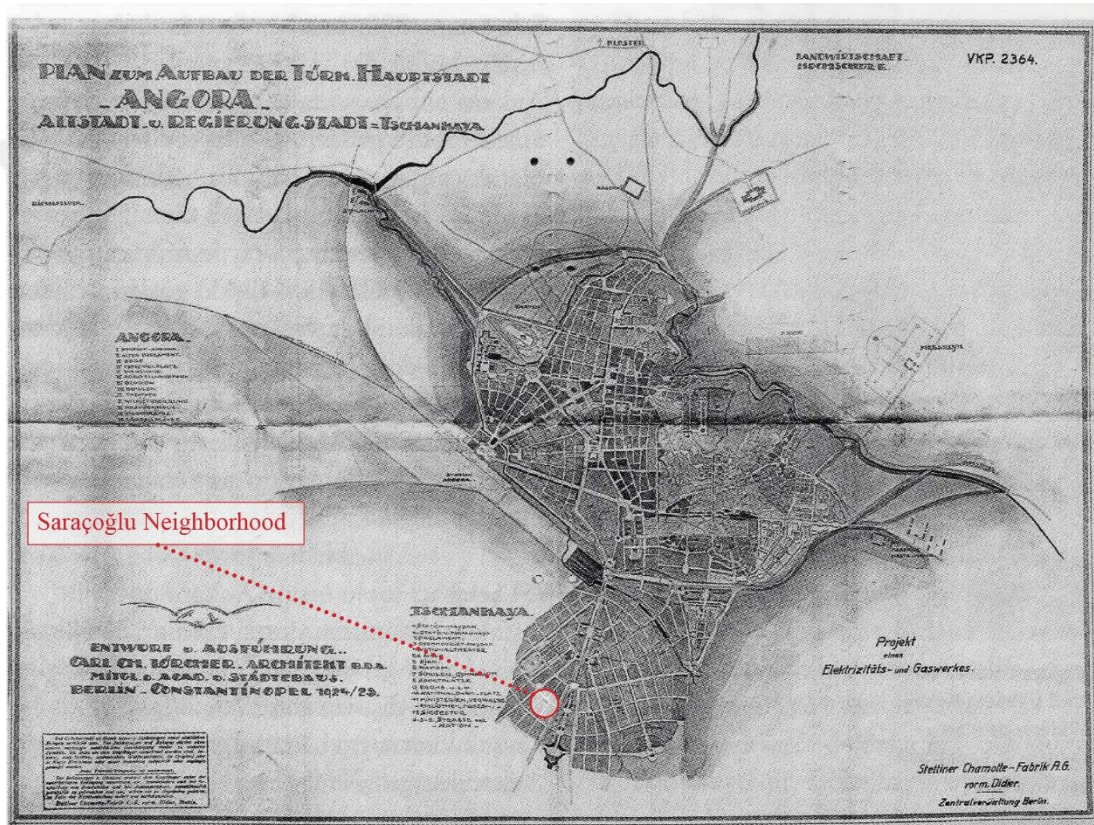


Figure 2.2: Lörcher Plan, 1924-1925 (ABB, 2006, p. 54).

The first plan of the Republic in the modern sense was the Lörcher Plan, it had defined Ankara Castle and its surroundings as areas that need improvement and regards the south of the old city as the new settlement area (Cengizkan, 2011) (Figure 2.2). Lörcher prepared the plan for a population of 200,000 people and has identified the old city surroundings as a residential area (Tekeli, 2010). Expansion plan in parallel with the land was expropriated in 1925. Cengizkan (2011) summarizes the design of the New City as follows:

However, the pressure of the rapid population increase mentioned above, before the end of the plan, brings to the agenda the design of the New City as a management neighborhood with the name "Çankaya" with an expansion plan suitable for the expropriation law. Within this neighborhood, there is a new parliament, a 'state neighborhood' where ministries and other state institutions will be located, and a residential neighborhood where the workers live. The relationship between the Old City and the New City has been conceived in a very tangential way and the New City has been equipped with public spaces to reinforce the experience of the new nation and nation-state being established with a spacious Garden City approach. (Cengizkan, 2011, p. 32)

It is understood that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was located in the Lörcher Plan first. Bakanlıklar District was planned together with Kızılay square, Güvenpark and State District.

In the Lörcher Plan, a 150-hectare of land of the New City was designed and criticized for large roads, small islands and low-density settlement suggestions, while the defined large squares and axles that can be viewed as a trace of the Garden City approach were references to the Jansen Plan (Cengizkan, 2011). Rapidly growing population, land speculations in expropriated areas, high costs of rehabilitation the Old Town caused the Lörcher Plan to lose its validity (Cengizkan, 2011).

In 1927, it is seen that the population of the city increased by more than two times compared to the years when the Lörcher Plan was prepared. This situation necessitated the preparation of a new development plan with an invited competition for the city with a perspective of 40-50 years and planning with 250,000-300,000 population (Cengizkan, 2011). Herman Jansen won the contest in 1927, with his master plan design that was influenced by the ideas of Camillo Sitte and Ebenezer Howard's Garden City (Tekeli, 2010).

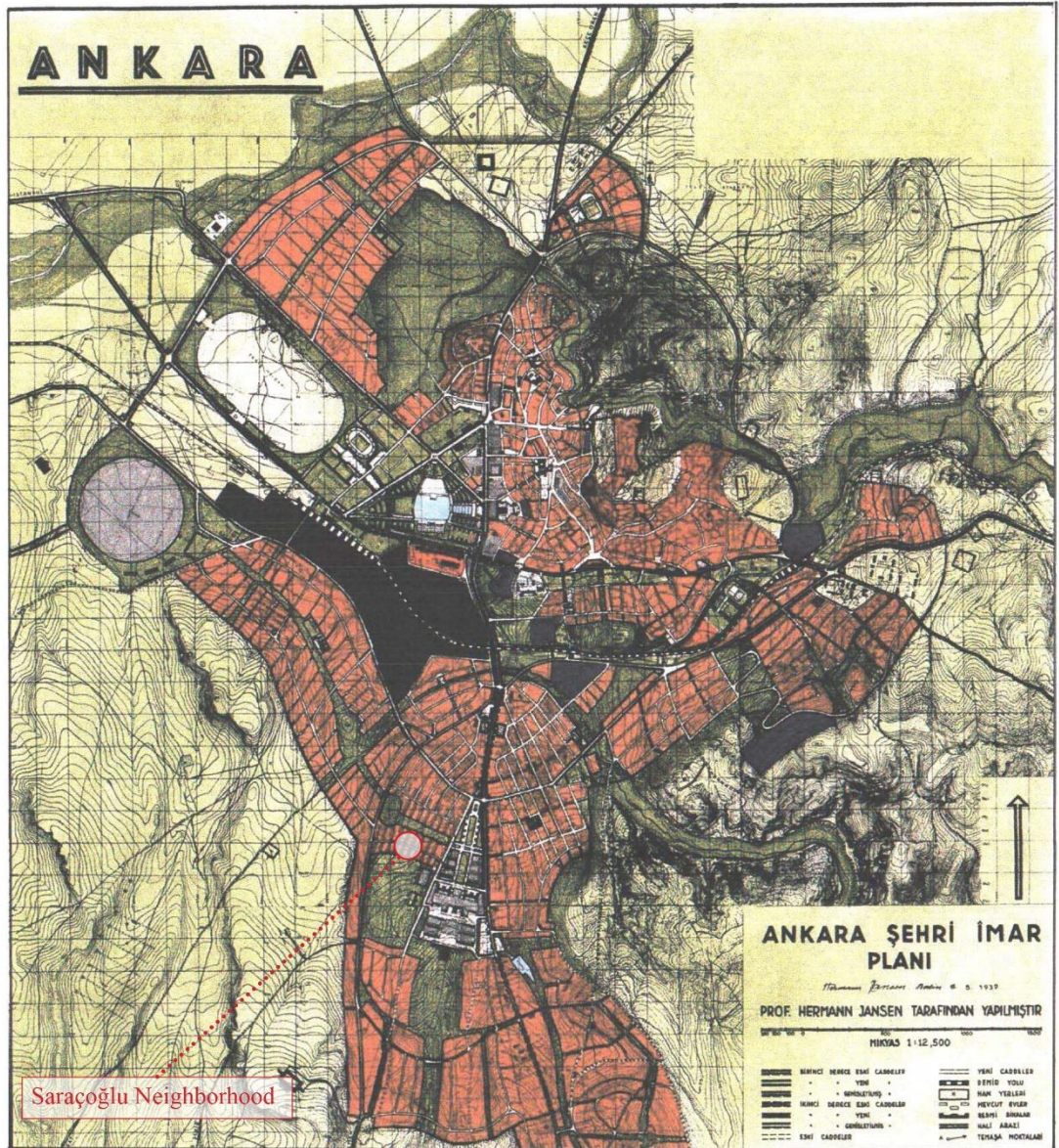


Figure 2.3: Jansen Plan, 1932 (ABB, 2006, p. 55).

The Jansen Plan was designed for the population of 300,000 people, preserving the Old City and the Ankara Castle, and designing the city's main settlement and expansion in the New City (Nicolai, 2011, p. 115) (Figure 2.3). The definitive development plan in 1932 was approved as an area of 1,800 hectares for 150,000 people (Tankut, 1994). Cengizkan (2011) states that Jansen was bound by location selections generally set out in the Lörcher Plan and so he re-established the urban environment by planning more dense settlement areas according to the increasing population needs.

Jansen proposed to set Ulus and Kızılay as the main residential areas and suggested a residential area resembling Garden City for civil servants around Kızılay (Nicolai,

2011, p. 116). In Jansen Plan, it is seen that this area is named as “Ministries Neighborhood” (Cengizkan, 2004, p. 85). The civil servant settlement associated with the Bakanlıklar District, which has been on the agenda since the Lörcher Plan of 1925, was conceptualized as “State Neighborhood” by Jansen (Cengizkan, 2011).

In the first years of the Republic, Ankara's planning initiatives created a legal framework and vision for the zoning regimes of Anatolian cities. Those applied plans partly provided a quality urban environment in Ankara for years. With the result of the city's inadequate future population predictions, Ankara has been subjected to unplanned settlements. The Ankara Plan (Jansen Plan), which was developed to create a modern city, encountered more intensive construction requests than planned and the plan was worn out in practice (Şenyapılı, 2006). Although criticized for its urban development and growth, the Lörcher and Jansen Plans were plans that produced urban texture based on regular geometric continuity, bearing an upper-form concern and reflecting the architectural context of the capital (Günay, 2006). It seems that the geometric order created by the Jansen Plan in the core area of Ankara does not exist except the Bakanlıklar backbone and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood.

Table 2.1: Ankara city population, plan period and plan population estimates between 1920-1955.

YEAR	POPULATION	PLAN PERIOD	POPULATION START	POPULATION ESTIMATE	TARGET YEAR
1920	20 000-30 000				
1925		Lörcher Plan		200 000	
1926	47 727				
1927	74 543				
1928	107 641				
1932		Jansen Plan	75 000	750 000	1990
1940	90 053 / 157 242*				
1950	174 964 / 228 536*				
1955	198 633				
* Population data indicated by Cengizkan and Günay were given together.					

2.2 Ideology and Reflections on Architecture

The first years of the Republic were the years of building the ideology of the Republic (Tekeli, 1994). The social and cultural structure of the nation-state formed during the early Republican period still exists today. Tekeli (1994) distinguishes four stages between 1923 and 1950 in terms of political ideologies affecting the architecture. The first turning point is the rise of the First National Style. The second turning point is the foreground of foreign architects since 1926. The third turning point is the increase of

domestic emphasis and the institutionalization of urban planning practice after the World Economic Crisis in 1929. The fourth turning point is the period of the Second National Style, which started with the beginning of the Second World War in 1939 and the rise of nationalist ideas.

Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 279) points out that the early republican years were examined by architectural historians in three groups in terms of style: First National Style (Ottoman revitalization), International Style (new architecture) and Second National Style (vernacular and classical references). Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 294) argues that the architecture of these three periods was shaped to serve politically and ideologically to build a nation-state. Nationalism was the driving force that shaped Turkish architectural culture in the early days of the Republic. The period that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was built, coincides with the Early Republic era. The neighborhood is a product of the Second National Style period. Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 279) described this period, which Tekeli relates to the Second World War and its increasing nationalist tendencies, as the Second National Style. It is necessary to consider Saraçoğlu Neighborhood together with the ideological values of the period in which it was built, as an embodied means of representing the nation-state ideology.

Tekeli (1994) examines the ideology of the early republican era in two ways which are enlightenment/westernization and establishing a nation-state. He expresses the ideology of constructing a developed society which he calls enlightenment as a sequence to the westernization movement that started in the Ottoman Empire. He describes the idea of constructing a nation-state as a breaking point from Ottoman and the ideology of emperorship. According to Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 242), after the history of the country was ideologically broken off from the Ottoman Empire, it turned to the Anatolian geography, which was regarded as the ancient Turkish state and tribes before the Muslims and the Turkish identity as a reference to the national roots. In this direction, Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 243) claims that Turkish Language Society (Türk Dil Kurumu) and Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu) have been established in order to have Turkish history recordings that have time and space continuity. She also claims that there have been systematic research on Turkish roots including music, art and architecture. Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 240) also found that the nation-state ideology based on the possible threats of the coming war and nationalism then turned into

ultranationalist discourses with totalitarian regimes rising in Europe at the end of the 1930s. The statement made by Prime Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu in 1942 in his government program shows that extreme nationalism is a powerful political propaganda;

We are Turks, we are Turkists and we will always stay Turkist. For us, Turkism is a matter of conscience and culture as much as a blood issue. We are not Turks who are decreasing or alleviating, but we are prospering and multiplying. And we will always work in this direction. (Bayraktar, 2011, p. 69)

Bayraktar's (2011) quotation from Baltacıoğlu (1943) shows that architecture was used as a means of propaganda in the spread of extreme nationalism, a political orientation:

Turkish people! Go back to your roots in architecture! (...) Turkish architecture! Take the western technique of your time, but do not take the architectural conscience! Your ancestors have turned the stones into Turkified and you shall Turkify the concrete. (Bayraktar, 2011, p. 69)

According to Batur (1983, p. 1395), the socio-psychological effects and economic troubles of the Second World War triggered the instinct of national self-defense and fostered nationalist tendencies. It is inevitable for nationalist tendencies have effects on the architecture in this political environment when it is thought that the state ideology has been embodied through architecture during the early republican years. War period economics, local and national emphasis has increased due to the difficulty in procuring constructional raw materials and due to the excessive price increases (Bayraktar, 2011).

Although Turkey remained neutral throughout the Second World War, German influence in Turkish art since the late 1930s shows a close link between Turkey and Germany (Bozdoğan, 2002b, p. 292). Under the leadership of Paul Bonatz, the exhibition of New German Architecture in the nature of the National Socialist Party opened in Turkey in 1943 (Akcan, 2009, p. 359). In the opening speech of the exhibition, Bonatz, while criticizing modern architecture, voices that his architecture should be based on traditional and national references and argues that creating a new architecture is only possible with a strong and totalitarian regime (Bonatz, 1943b). Bonatz's idea of creating a new architecture by utilizing traditional architecture supports the main ideas of the Second National Style, which he defended through Sedad Hakkı Eldem's National Architecture Seminars and Turkish House researches

(Bozdoğan, 2002b, p. 285). The search for local architecture was aimed at revealing the core values and the soul of the Anatolian lands by rejecting both the cosmopolitan and rational approach of the west and the building culture of the Ottomans (Bozdoğan, 2002a, p. 250). Hence, the period was taking architectural references from the civil architecture of Anatolia and local architectural wisdom, instead of Ottoman monumental architecture. The emphasis that the movement puts on traditionalism should not be considered either as an aim to create a traditional architecture or rejecting the modern architecture. Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 255) expresses the relation of modern architecture with local and regional contexts as follows:

...Vernacular architecture represented a particular wisdom of building distilled over centuries and admired by rationalist architects everywhere. Buildings of the common folk were seen as perfect expressions of utility, practicality, simplicity, constructional honesty, and conformity to local materials, climate, and resources: that is, the same basic qualities and criteria that modern architecture sought after (...) Form would not be an a priori stylistic choice but a consequence of rational considerations of program, site, soil, climate, budget, and materials, just as it had always been with vernacular buildings or folk architecture. Therefore, in its true spirit, modern architecture could not possibly be an "international style": integral to its very conception was a profound contextualist and regionalist sensibility. (Bozdoğan, 2002a, p. 255)

Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 241) expresses the intellectual infrastructure of the movement as an effort to reconcile the rationalist principles of modern architecture with Turkish construction traditions through vernacular and historical references. The most prominent research of these academic studies is the Turkish House research conducted under the leadership of Sedat Hakkı Eldem. Eldem defended the idea of using traditionalism into a modernist way and voiced his support for the modern architecture of the traditional Turkish House:

My main concern is that the old Turkish house is in close proximity to today's modern home understanding. I pointed out earlier that there are plenty of windows and light. In the plan of freedom, of giving more importance to comfort, of staying true to the necessities of the material, of the rich terraces (life) and of the garden and of the courtyard... is it not the qualities we look for in modern houses? We find them all in the old Turkish house. (Eldem, 1983, p. 19)

As it can be understood, Eldem claims that the spatial and formal features of the Turkish House are similar to modern architecture. Bozdoğan (2002b, p. 290) describes Eldem's national architectural description as a recurring, easily recognizable and formally approved form. This recipe reminds the danger of formal imitation by Bruno

Taut, who supports the local and national adaptations of international approaches, yet argues that the national character should not be a self-conscious determinant or stylistic formula in design (Bozdoğan, 2002a, p. 270). In Saraçoğlu Neighborhood design, the pre-determined Turkish House form, which Bozdoğan described and Taut criticized, is easily read and the facades of the buildings express traditionalism in a formal style. Paul Bonatz himself poses the danger of repeating theoretically traditional forms in a formal style:

However, it is necessary to copy the works belonging to a certain era style here and to use the ornaments brought to the body in the same kind. Exercise against traditions and careful attention and care, it is the essence, researching the essence, or it is not as pleasant as ornamental. In the meantime, the form should be brought to the market based on the construction and the manufacturing technique. (Bonatz, 1943b, p. 120)

Although Bonatz criticized in theory, practically, in the houses of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, the features of the traditional Turkish House were used on the facades of the building. The spatial features of the Turkish house described by Eldem did not reflect on the house plans of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Figure 2.4).

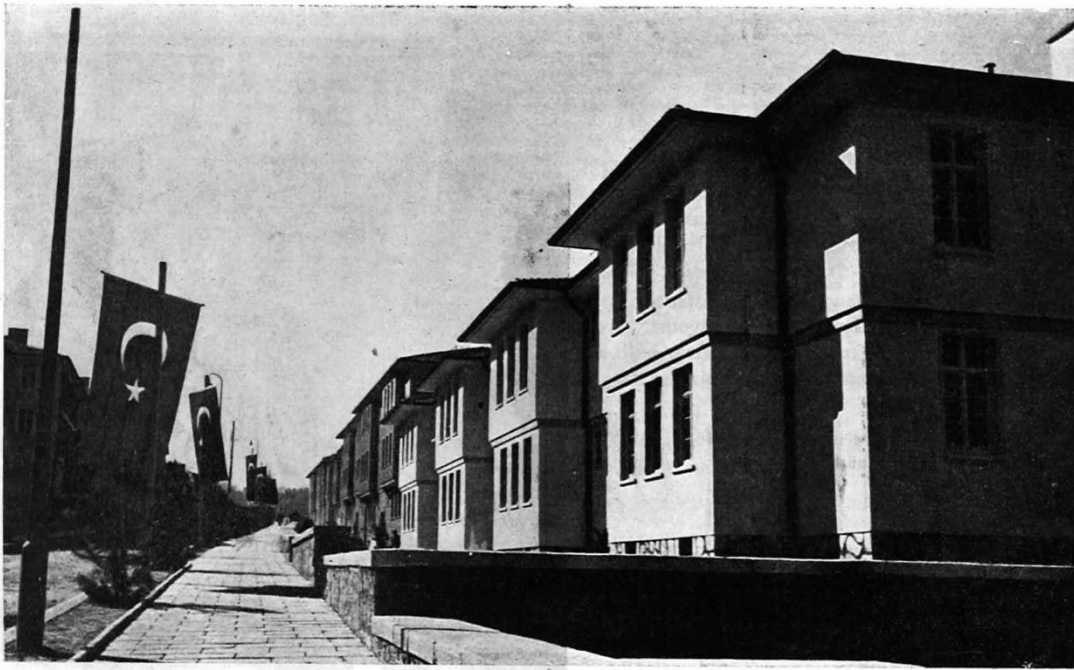


Figure 2.4: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood housing perspective (Sayar, 1946).

Bonatz was a supporter of Eldem in this regard, while Taut criticised Eldem's linking national architecture to the strong regime and state subsidy (Taut, 1938, p. 333). This

approach strengthens the politicization of the architecture in the service of the regime. This movement emerged to reveal the architectural essence of the Anatolia, and later transformed into an architectural culture of classicalism, nationalism and state power (Bozdoğan, 2002a, p. 251). The fact that the Second National Style was closely related to the regime was a sign for the possibility of the movement to weaken with the change of political ideology and political orientations. Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 294) states that the important changes in the cultural policy of the state until the end of the single-party regime in 1950 were reflected in architectural tendencies, each of which criticizes the architecture before him.

The Second National Style, with the ending of the single-party regime, has reduced its influence and left its place to new architectural orientations. These trends are generally shaped by the liberal policies of the Democrat Party government, postwar economy and American influence. With the end of the Second World War, Turkey was out of the war economy (Tekeli, 1994). Early republic ideologies have been reinterpreted in order to take place in the new world order (Tekeli, 1994). Second National Style ended with the pro-American liberal policies of the new regime and the impact of the new architectures who received an education in countries like England and US and, who were more interested in new planning and architecture subjects (Aslanoğlu, 1994).

2.3 Architecture of Paul Bonatz

Paul Bonatz was born in Metz in 1877 and studied architecture at Munich Technical University (Goethe-Institut, 2010). In 1902, he began teaching at the University of Stuttgart as an assistant to Theodor Fischer (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 21). According to Akcan (2012), he founded an architectural office with August Scholer and became an influential architect in Stuttgart with his profession as an architecture and the professorship at Stuttgart University, in the following years. During the Nazi Germany period, he built bridges and motorways and closely followed the construction and techniques while serving the Nazi regime (Akcan, 2009, p. 354).

It is possible to read the Nazi German architectural discussions and the position of Bonatz (Akcan, 2009, p. 353). According to Akcan (2012), with the National Socialist Party's rule in 1933, the residential architecture began to evolve into the housing architecture with hipped roof and conservative ideas embodied in traditional forms and

the design of the campus begun to turn into a sovereign, traditional house in the garden. As Akcan (2012) refers to Gehrard Graubner (1937), Paul Bonatz had shown a traditional attitude by participating the mass housing project under the German Wooden House Exhibition, which was designed as an anti-Weissenhof symbol. According to Akcan (2012), Bonatz, who was close to the Nazi government, also helped his colleagues escape from Germany. Therefore, Bonatz was in a difficult position that could not be explained easily, both ethically and politically. This ambiguous position of Bonatz can be criticized for his service to the Nazi regime. However, it seems that this politically dualistic situation was a strategy that allowed him to practice architecture for a longer time in Germany.

Bonatz's architectural approach, like his political position, carries duality. As Akcan (2009, p. 355) refers to Harmut Frank (1985), Bonatz “wanted a modern architecture that differentiated from Neues Bauen on one hand, on the other hand, he wanted a tradition that differentiated from the neo-classical style of Albert Speer”. It is understood that Bonatz's place in modern and tradition discussions is both outside of the discussions and somewhere between the discussions and, thus, can be described as a category of outcast. Bonatz, who brought the exhibition of New German Architecture as a National Socialist propaganda exhibition to Turkey, gave a speech at the opening of the exhibition, which was later published with the title of New German Architecture:

Expressionism emerged after the First World War. After that, romance and finally conformity to the subject, that is to say, the new (objectivism) called the new flow emerged out. This last style has given itself the suitability for the situation because he works only with steel, reinforced concrete and technical products like as many glasses as possible instead of old and natural building materials such as stone and wood. It does not matter whether these materials are suitable for the building site. However, after a while, it became clear that this style was not suitable at all, and even technically flawed. It was nothing but a new romance whose first signs were negative. (Bonatz, 1943a, p. 72)

He is criticizing modern architecture with these words. In his later speech, which was also published in the same title and published by the Academy of Fine Arts, Bonatz describes his traditionalist position:

The issue of how much it is compulsory for the architect to take advantage of his tradition and how much he is allowed is a common case for every country. After a modern period of fifteen to twenty years that considered architecture as an easy to learn field and ignores the difference

between climates, nations and countries, traditional roots have been gaining its importance back everywhere. Every place feels like a force from its own soil and the pain of being rootless is felt. (Bonatz, 1943b, p. 119)

It is possible to say that Bonatz's traditional approach made him one of the strongest supporters of the Second National Style after his visit to Turkey. Bonatz had previously been in Turkey for sightseeing for the German-Turkish House of Friendship Competition, as a jury member for the Anıt-Kabir Competition, for New German Architecture Exhibition (Tanrıverdi, 2012, pp. 23-24). Nicolai (2011) notes that Bonatz came to Turkey to settle for an irresistible desire to continue building in 1943, neither as an exile nor the Nazi government's mandate. In Bonatz's choice, to be disturbed by the Nazi government, recognition of Turkey and excitement of being able architecture in Turkey may have been effective. Bonatz had been employed as an adviser to Ministry of Education September 1943, with the support of the Development Bureau of the Ministry of Education's president Kemali Söylemezoğlu, who had previously been a student of Bonatz at Stuttgart Technical University (Nicolai, 2011, p. 293). In August 1944, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood project was proposed to Bonatz and he continued to operate as an architect along with his duties as an advisor in the ministry. He continued his academic career at Istanbul Technical University between 1946 and 1955 and directed the architectural project studio (May, 2009). Tanrıverdi (2012, p. 24) explains Bonatz's approaches in studio education as follows:

While Bonatz indoctrinated to young architectures at school that they should not imitate European based styles, he also emphasized the necessity to see if the elements, nuances and contours are Turkish or not and question the reason why they are chosen in that way after eliminating all the ornaments of the structure. He stated that this choice must be worked on by deciding whether it is done by logical information, fashioning effect or arbitrary preference. (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 24)

According to Bonatz's academic approach, it is understood that he does not take kindly to international styles. In addition, Bonatz supports the production of national and local architectural character. Although it is arguable, instead of European architecture, the idea of creating an architectural style based on Turkish traditions and experiences can be seen in the constructions he has built. As a foreign architect, he supported a regionalist architectural movement shaped around the Turkish House and struggled to improve it theoretically and practically. Nevertheless, Bonatz could not cease to be the

target of anti-foreign architecture attitude. According to Nicolai (2011), American influence and nationalist tendencies have weakened as well as new architectural orientations have begun on the axis of American modernism, after the Second World War. Bonatz, on the other hand, maintained his conservatism by criticizing these new orientations (Nicolai, 2011, p. 299). The fact that Bonatz was assigned to convert the Ankara Exhibition House to the Opera House and the work of the Municipality of Istanbul caused intense reaction from Turkish architects. Under these circumstances, Bonatz was accused of not being able to carry on with the era and became the name of the intimidation of foreign architects. Bonatz, who devoted himself only to education since 1948, passed away in Stuttgart in 1956, about two years after he left Turkey (Goethe-Institut, 2010).

2.4 An Urban Design Experiment: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood

Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was built as a civil servant settlement adjacent to the Bakanlıklar District in line with Jansen's planning. The legal foundation of the project was established within the scope of the Law No. 4626 on Officers' Houses and Implementing Regulation No. 3516 issued in 1944 (AKTVKKBK, 1993). The construction was undertaken by the Emlak and Eytam Bank, founded in 1926 (Madran, 2013).

Saraçoğlu Neighborhood is attracting attention as a settlement bearing the “garden city” characteristics of the Jansen Plan (Figure 2.5). The neighborhood, which is designed together with multi-storey dwellings, education, administration and social units, sports areas and green spaces, also features “siedlung” settlement (Akcan, 2009, p. 263). Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which is located on an area of approximately 13 hectares, is designed as a “modern neighborhood” (Sulev, 1945). This area, which the state has designed for the management stages representing western life (AKTVKKBK, 1993).

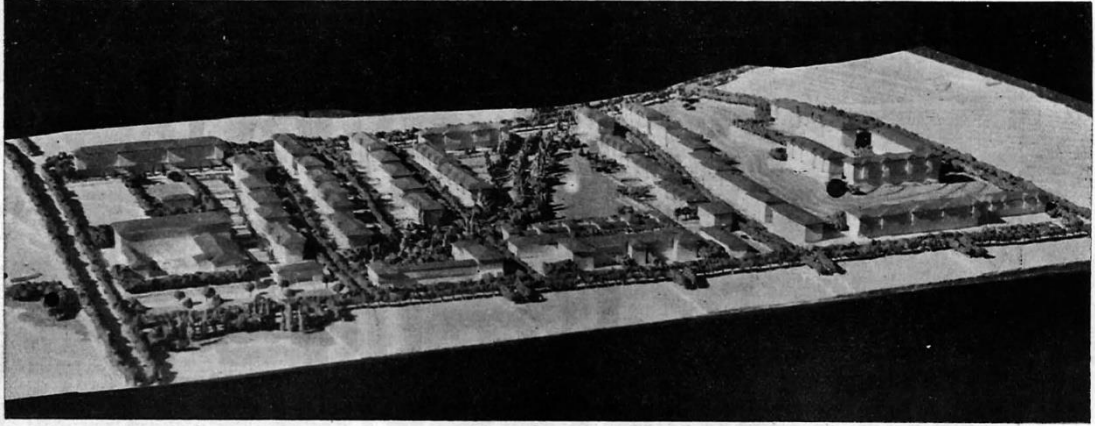


Figure 2.5: Model of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Sayar, 1946).

It was designed as a modern and western neighborhood (settlement) concept as a propaganda project of the nationalist orientation (Bozdoğan, 2002a, p. 274). It also represented the movement of the Second National Style, the contemporary movement of the era, with its emphasis on architectural style and locality (Akcan, 2009, p. 362). Bonatz, one of the leading theorists of the Second National Style, designed Saraçoğlu Neighborhood in line with this movement (Nicolai, 2011, p. 297). The movement is identified with the traditional Turkish House, and the adaptation struggle of the single Turkish House to mass housing is visible in Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Bayraktar, 2011). The neighborhood stands as a clear example of the Second National Style period although it is criticized to have been built with a formal approach (Alsaç, 1946) (Figure 2.6). It is understood that it is designed as a project representing the modern republic. However, at the same time, it was faithful to the Turkish essence and values with the movement it represents and the design language it uses.

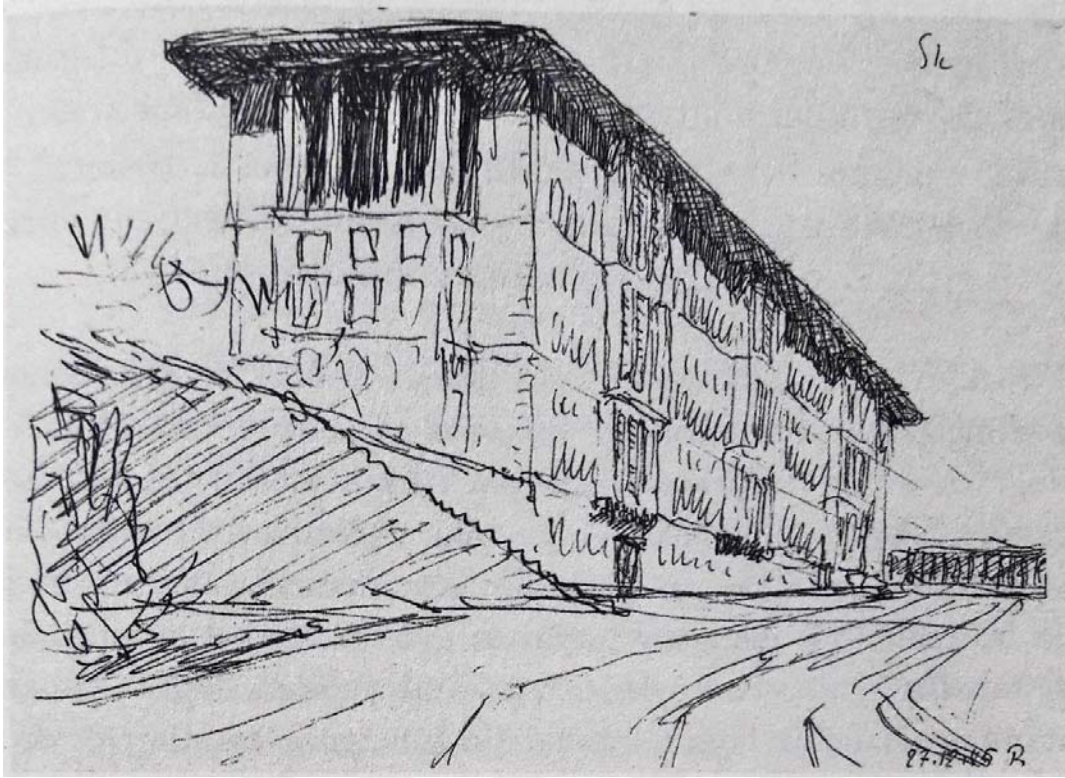


Figure 2.6: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood sketch drawn by Paul Bonatz (Akcan, 2009, s. 365).

According to Akcan (2012), in the 1930s, Ernst Egli prepared a preliminary project for the area. When Egli's project was canceled due to not being in line with Jansen's plan, Hermann Jansen was asked to do the project on the site (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 32). At the same time, Bruno Taut, a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts, and his students worked for a public housing for the area (Akcan, 2009, p. 358). But the work offered to Paul Bonatz, who had recently arrived in Turkey and he had been assigned as a consultant in the Ministry of Education (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 24). Erkan (1997) points out that Bonatz first rejected the offer because he thought that it would be appropriate for a Turkish architecture to have this responsibility rather than a foreign one. When Kemali Söylemezoğlu, a student of Bonatz and the manager of the Ministry of Education, refused to work, a suitable Turkish architect could not be found (Erkan, 1997). Eventually, Bonatz was commissioned for the project (Akcan, 2009, p. 359).

The neighborhood was designed as 47 blocks, 434 residences, 7 different apartment types with 2, 3 and 4 storeys settled in an area of approximately 300-500 meter in size (AKTVKBK, 1993). The cost of each apartment was 23,360 TL in its period's currency (Erkan, 1997). The Government Houses built during the same period may

give an idea of the high cost of the project, which was 30,000 TL (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 37). It is not surprising that the construction of the area was expensive due to the increase prices of construction materials during the war. It is possible to read the allocation of the large budget for the area as a demonstration of the value given to the area when the construction works were almost stopped since the government was applying strict saving policies. However, the high cost of the area was assessed as a waste by Orhan Alsaç (1946) and became an object of criticism. Zeki Sayar (1946) criticized for insufficient construction quality in the article in *Arkitekt* Magazine.

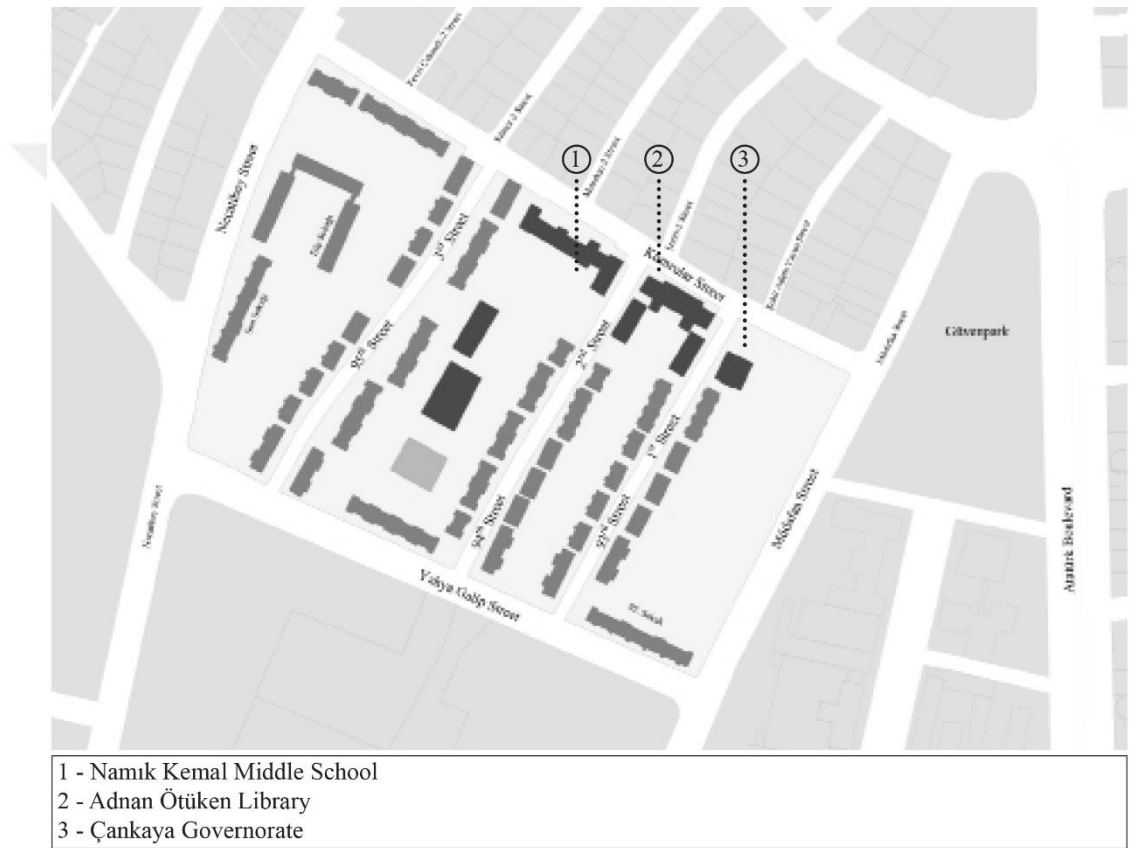


Figure 2.7: Social facilities of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood.

The construction of the residence continued and the stages completed gradually between 1945-1946 (AKTVKBK, 1993). Again according to Tanrıverdi (2012, p. 32), the first stage was opened in 1945 by the Prime Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu on the Republic Day and the second stage residential settlement was opened in 1946. Today's Adnan Ötüken Library, the former National Library, and the Çankaya Governorate which is still used today were opened in 1948. The Namık Kemal Primary School was opened in 1951 (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 32) (Figure 2.7). The opening of the neighborhood was found a place on *Ulus* Newspaper in the *Arkitekt* Magazine and in

the *Mimarlık* Magazine (Akcan, 2009, p. 364). From the criticism in the newspapers and magazines, it is understood that the opening of the neighborhood has a special precaution in the agenda of architecture and civil society.

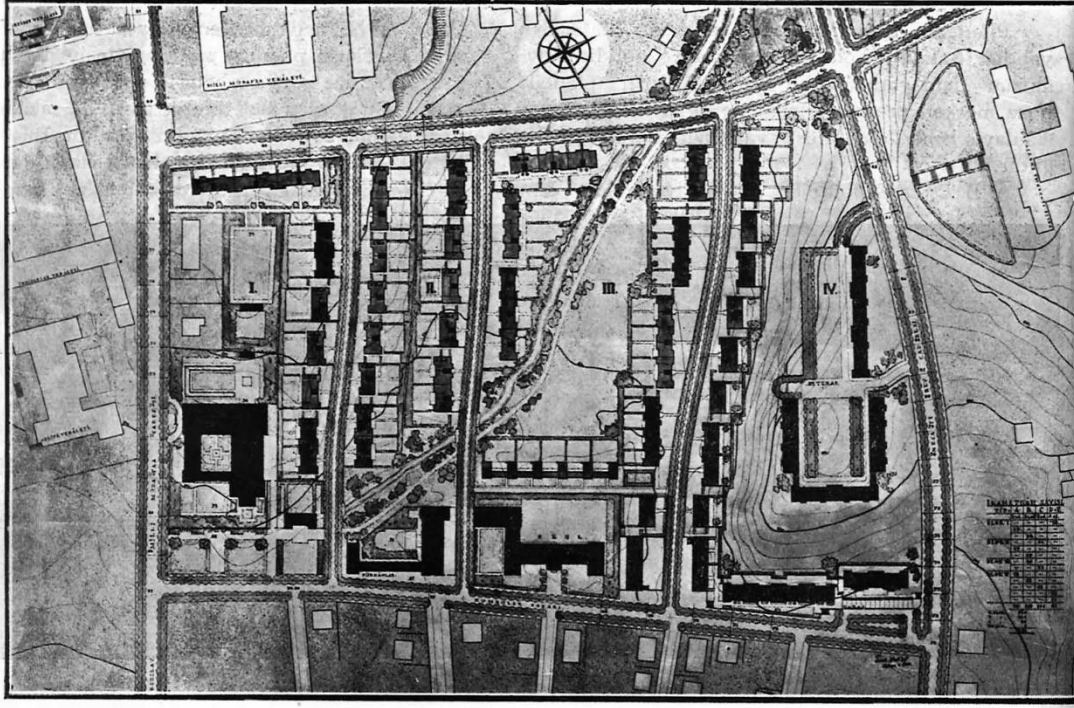


Figure 2.8: Master plan of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Sayar, 1946).

In Bonatz's residential design, it is possible to see the Garden City concept that was utilized by Jansen in Ankara Master Plan (Figure 2.8). Previously, the design of the settlement with the understanding of Garden City was experienced through Bahçelievler Neighborhood which was the design by Hermann Jansen (Akcan, 2005, p. 152). However, Bahçelievler Neighborhood consists of detached houses in private gardens, while Saraçoğlu Neighborhood consists of 2, 3, 4-storey houses among common green spaces. In this respect, the neighborhood has a higher density and is a more economical settlement. The neighborhood attracts attention not only with housing buildings but also with public buildings and spaces of different functions. The district has a social center, administrative building, educational building, children's garden, tennis courts, basketball and volleyball courts and playgrounds (Bayraktar, 2011). Akcan (2012) states that the campus also coincided with the German-based concept of "siedlung" with its common social facilities and multi-storey, multi-family buildings. Siedlung refers to a new style of mass housing that emerged under the leadership of Martin Wagner and Bruno Taut (Akcan, 2009, p. 269). Under the

leadership of Taut, who came to Turkey, in 1936, *siedlung* debates took place in the agenda of Turkish architecture (Akcan, 2009, pp. 276-277). Generally, the concept of *siedlung* is a way of producing a new housing complex with a multi-family, common social facilities and cheap housing concept in the city center. This understanding is also important as it has an approach of interpreting the changing relationship of the individual and society, village and city life and changing housing concept. Akcan (2005, p. 501) explains the relation of the concept of *siedlung* with the changing world as follows:

The world had changed. Now, individual gardens no longer served as private land where the families could grow their own nutrition; that was no longer 'everyone's bread-maker' to use a phrase Migge and Taut liked. Now that there was no need to enclose gardens with fences all around, green spaces could be shared by many families. They could be transformed into semi-private large parks to be used by all residents. The relation between the individual and the community had to be redefined as well. Now that women started working outside the house, new arrangements, such as common laundries, dining halls and kindergartens were needed. The design of a large *Siedlung* was not just a matter of size and residential typology, but the organization of the whole life of the new metropolitan resident. (Akcan, 2005, p. 501)

The *siedlung* concept is an approach of design that has emerged to provide cheap housing for workers in the city center (Akcan, 2005). Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was designed for civil servants of the middle and upper class and subjected to many criticisms during the period in terms of its high cost. Alsaç (1946) states that the settlement of the site plan is positive by criticizing the cost of the project:

Of course, when the government makes houses for its officers, it does not refrain from any necessary masquerading. Every conscientious eye can predict that it will be possible to build a significant number of apartments with the money of the retaining walls, which is provided by the establishment of the site plan. Otherwise, it is surely a solid and spacious neighborhood that has not generally entered each other. (Alsaç, 1946, p. 16)



Figure 2.9: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Çavdar, 2017).

As Alsaç (1946) points out, the settlement is very spacious with common green spaces and building-void ratios. The houses are located in the walls of the building islands (ward). Small front yards were created by withdrawing from the road. Blocks were placed in some places shifting 130 cm while in some places it is much larger, in align with the Street (Nicolai, 2011, p. 297). This attitude led to a rich perspective (Figure 2.9). The entrances to the building are staggered and directed towards each other. The wide and common interior gardens were built inside the building islands. With this feature, this settlement can be regarded as a courtyard settlement. In the detailed perspective drawings of Bonatz's common gardens, it appears that some of the gardens were directed towards Ankara Castle (Akcan, 2009, p. 363) (Figure 2.10). Social facilities were located at the northern border of the settlement. This has resulted in both the privacy of the residential area and the use of public areas as a buffer zone for interaction between the outside and the inside of the settlement (Bayraktar, 2011). The part of the area that adjacent to Güvenpark is left as an area of sports area and a recreation (AKTVKBK, 1993). Thus, the green areas of the neighborhood are transformed into an area that opens to the city center and integrates with the green park in the center (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 19).

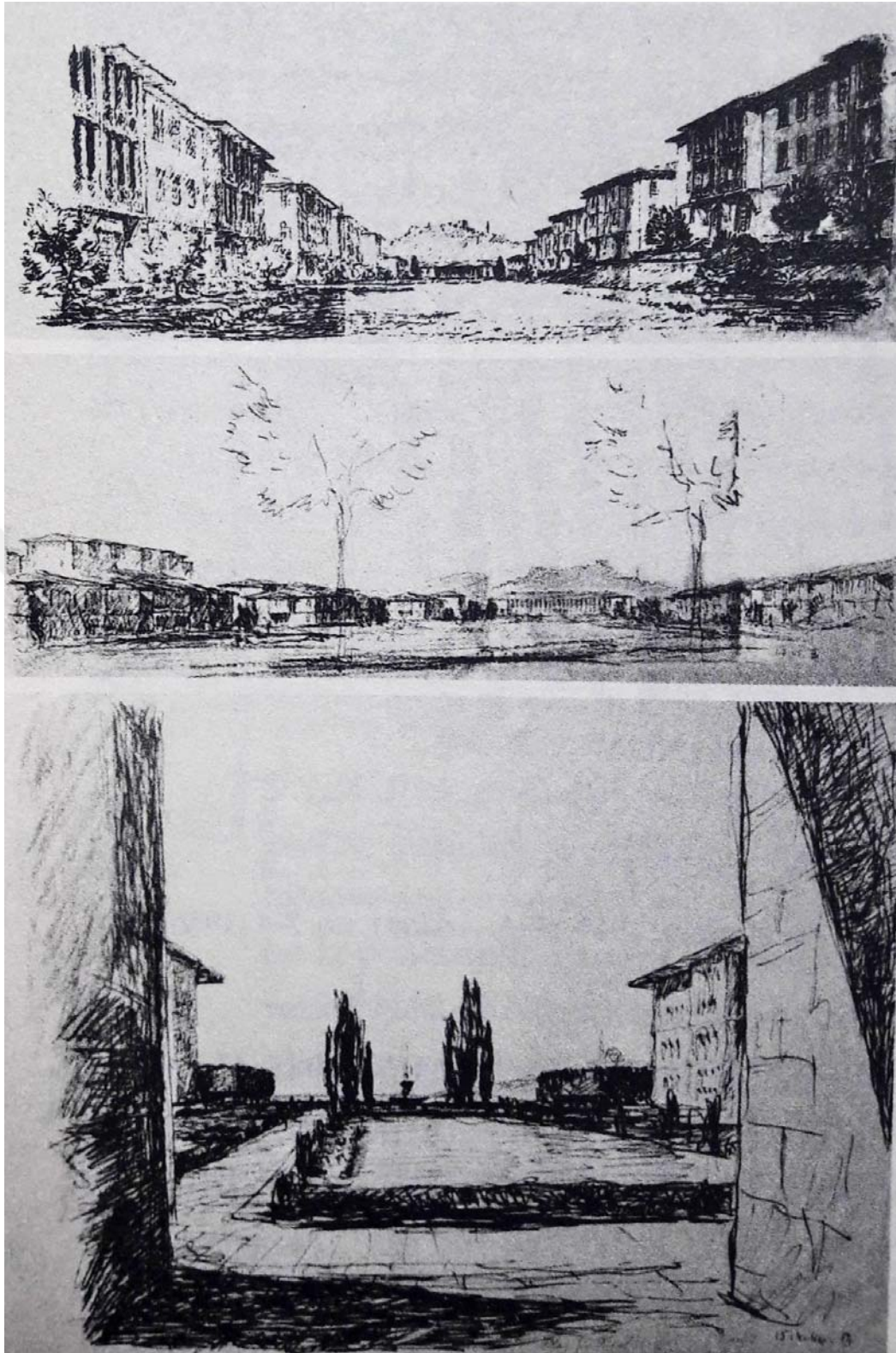


Figure 2.10: Perspectives from common garden towards Ankara Castle (Akcan, 2009, p. 364).

Another urban design theme of the area is suitability for land settlement and topography. The high-rise blocks are located in the rising parts of the area towards

Necatibey Street, the low-rise blocks are located in the pits of the area. In this view, the topographic and the hierarchical relationship of the buildings with the topography has been diversified and a moving perspective has been obtained in terms of building height (Figure 2.11). Sayar (1946) positively criticized “neighborhood urbanism” in the summery of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood evaluation, which he received in 1946:

Neighborhood urbanization has been well done by taking advantage of the topographic facilities of the land. Placing the apartments with a small number of floors in the pits of the area creates levels in structure groups thus enriching its perspective and crown the hill within this area. In this respect, the local residence ground plan has been successful. (Sayar, 1946, p. 56)

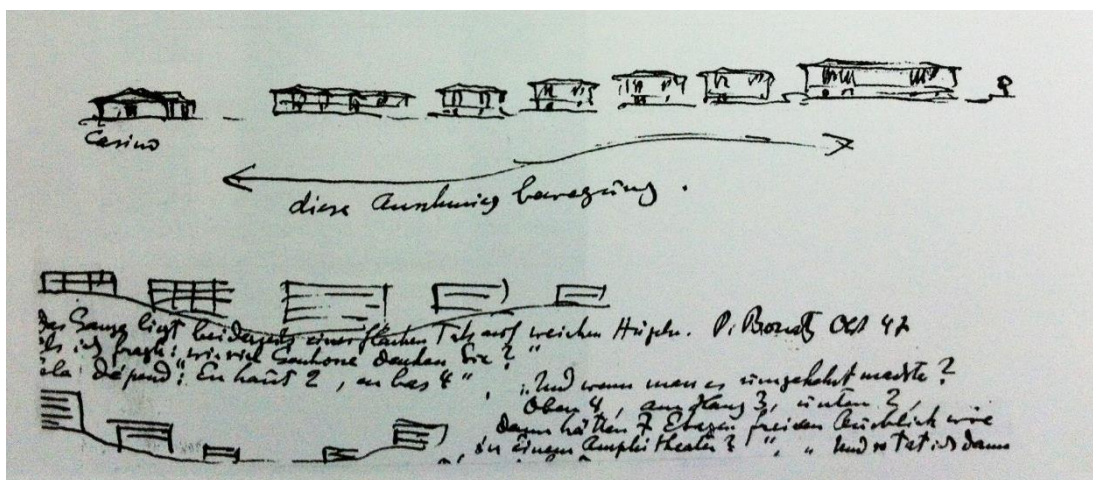


Figure 2.11: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood sketch drawn by Paul Bonatz (Çavdar, 2017).

It is possible to see the formal elements referring to the Turkish House on the house facades and the traces of the Turkish House in the plan layouts (Akcan, 2009, pp. 363-364). The plans are not considered successful in terms of the qualities of the modern mass housing and the characteristics of the traditional Turkish House. When the drawings of the plan that were published in the article of Sayar (1946) are examined, it is positive that the rooms are customized as bedroom and living room according to the functions of the rooms and they are drawn in a furnished, but there are inconsistencies between the sizes of the rooms according to their functions. Each apartment in multi-story apartment blocks is designed for a single family, in a design that aims to serve the needs of the modern age, this is functional for modern users (Bayraktar, 2011).



Figure 2.12: One of the housing facade of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Type B) (Sayar, 1946).

The residential blocks refer to the traditional Turkish House with its wide roof eaves, window ratios, balconies which can be described as open sofa and balustrades and cantilever (Bayraktar, 2011) (Figure 2.12). It is also seen that the neighborhood texture is mobilized by the diversity of the block types and the colors used on the facade. When the plan layouts are examined, the richness of the traditional Turkish House cannot be seen in these plans. The dwellings generally consist of rooms and service spaces (Sayar, 1946). The interpretations of features such as sofa, bay window or cantilevers, which are characteristics of the traditional Turkish House, are found in the plan layouts, but it is difficult to say that these features are skillfully adapted to house plans. On the other hand, flexible spaces expected from the modern public housing are partly encountered, but the lack of compact solutions of the service units does not meet the expectation of economic viability. It is observed that the traditional expression used on the facade does not functionally reflect the plans. This inconsistent situation shows that the design is treated with a formal approach and that the design elements belonging to the Turkish House cannot go beyond being the figures that determine the mass perception of the buildings (Alsaç, 1946). It is understood that the plans are designed to create modern housing with the special use of space and standardization of housing types. When this effort is combined with the neighborhood master plan design or the *siedlung* approach, it is positive. When the plan, facade and master plan is examined in general, it is understood that there is an intention to create a modern settlement and to form a style of structure with traditional references.



Figure 2.13: Locations of blocks A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H (based on Tanrıverdi, 2012).

The residential blocks, which formally refer to traditional roots, represent an effort to adapt the traditional Turkish House, which is a single-family house, to the multi-

storied mass housing architecture (Bayraktar, 2011). There are 8 types of housing blocks in the neighborhood (Akcan, 2009, p. 363). These types are called A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H housing block type¹. This area has 44 residential blocks in total including 8 A type, 5 B type, 12 C type, single, double, triple, quadruple, 3 D type, 2 E type, 3 F type, 9 G type and 2 H type residential buildings (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 69) (Figure 2.13).

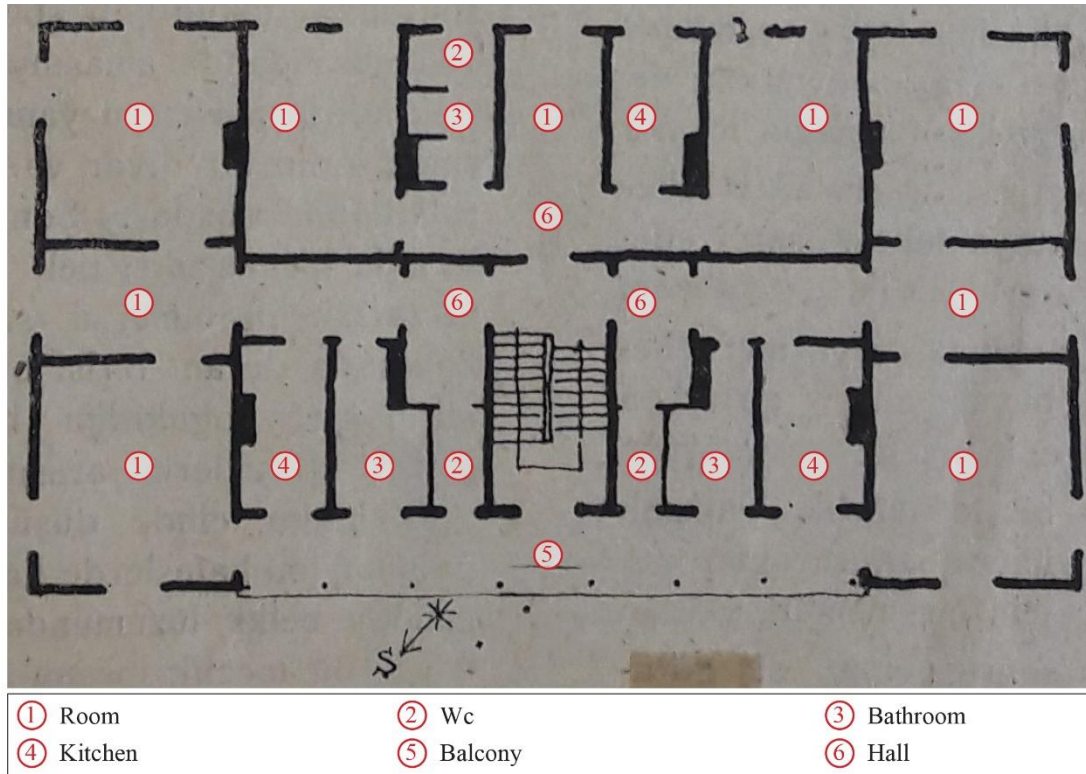


Figure 2.14: Type A housing plan (based on Alsaç, 1946).

There are 8 blocks of A-type housing block in the neighborhood. Type A residential block is basement, ground and 2 floors and each floor has 3 apartments, 2 of which are twin apartments. Every three apartments have triple rooms. On the two sides of the block, in three-faced circle types enter a small hall of residence and a long corridor is reached at the end of the room. The passage to the other two rooms is provided by doors opening from this room. Moving from room to room is not very useful in

¹ Zeki Sayar (1946) writes about 6 types of houses, A, B, C, D, E and F in the article titled Saraçoğlu Neighborhood which was published in Arkitekt magazine in 1946. According to the report of Ankara Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board on the date 25.09.1991 and number 4151, there are 7 types of houses designed. However, it is understood that there are 8 types of houses as a result of the researches and the site studies.

everyday practice. But it is possible to consider this room as a “sofa” (hall) (Akcan, 2009, p. 363). However, the necessity of crossing the corridor to reach this sofa does not correspond to the understanding of the sofa in the traditional Turkish House. It is an important criticism that both apartments use a common balcony (it is also possible to describe this balcony as an outside sofa) and the wet spaces are looking at this balcony (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 70) (Figure 2.14). Balcony balustrades are made of sheet metal and are in the form of a mesh and these balustrades are connected to each other by iron poles (Alsaç, 1946). This balcony, which has a strong dominance in the facade, makes a connotation of the Turkish House in form but is functionally controversial. This balcony of type A is often included in criticisms of the fact that traditional Turkish House elements only reflect the formal design. In the article Alsaç (1946) particularly mentions this issue:

Old Turkish architects have taught to make the elements of construction beautiful and to use them as if they were decorated in their beautiful and precious works that they left. In the ancient Turkish artifacts, there are no poles, no beams, which do not really carry the weight. However, not only because we see these poles installed later, but also because of their location, they do not carry weights (...) We are thinking the same thing in the cage-like railings between the poles. Because these cages made of sheet metal that has very little thickness, they actually give an insecurity to the person, even if they are too strong, perhaps (...) Professor Bonatz would have preferred to use our old cages in the windows, which are not skeptical today because they are not only for ornamentation but also to reduce the effect of hot sunlight on our houses to give a clear dimness to them, which would certainly be a more interesting and beneficial experience. (Alsaç, 1946, p. 17)

In this type of apartment, wet spaces are dissolved together and a solution suitable for modern and economical mass housing has been produced. The sofa-like room at the entrance of in the middle of the block of a single faced residential type divides the house into two parts. The kitchenette and bathroom are located on either side of this room. The separate decomposition of wet spaces is not economically feasible and creates the difficulty of passing from the shower area to the toilet area. Additionally, there are the same large rooms on the two sides of the apartment.

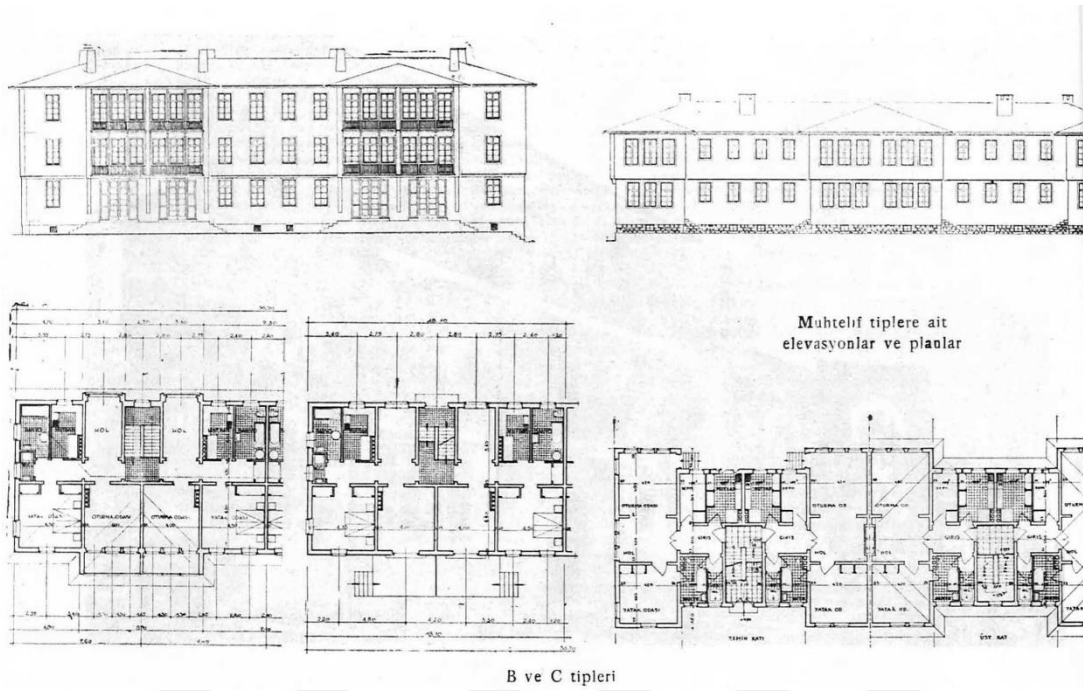


Figure 2.15: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood plan and facade drawings (Sayar, 1946).

Sayar (1946) finds the plans not useful by conducting detailed analyses of plan layouts of an article in *Arkitekt Magazine* and criticises that cabinets in the rooms and cupboards in the kitchen are rarely found (Figure 2.15). He states that the usage and comfort standards of residential buildings are even less than those of the cheaper houses in Europe (Sayar, 1946). According to Sayar (1946) the facades of the buildings are mediocre and they are described as imitations of the structures of the Architect Kemalettin and Vedat. He criticized the quality of construction negatively and expressing the general idea with the words “Saraçoğlu’s houses plans and architecture were sacrificed to such a reputation that its structure was not successful because it was given to a subsidiary company” (Sayar, 1946, p. 86).

At the same time, Alsaç (1946) published a review about the neighborhood in the *Mimarlık Magazine*. Alsaç wrote that he found that the plan layouts were not suitable for Turkish family life. Contrary to Sayar (1946), he thought that the positive features of the plans were the spacious rooms and the fact that there were cabinets in the rooms. Alsaç (1946) indicated that the buildings were fed to the exterior of the interior fuse, and also, he criticized the use of Turkish house items as ornaments on building facades (Figure 2.16). He argued that foreign architects could not understand the essence of the Turkish House and approached Turkish architecture with an orientalist interest

(Alsaç, 1946). Another criticism was caused by the fact that this important project was not given to a Turkish architect.

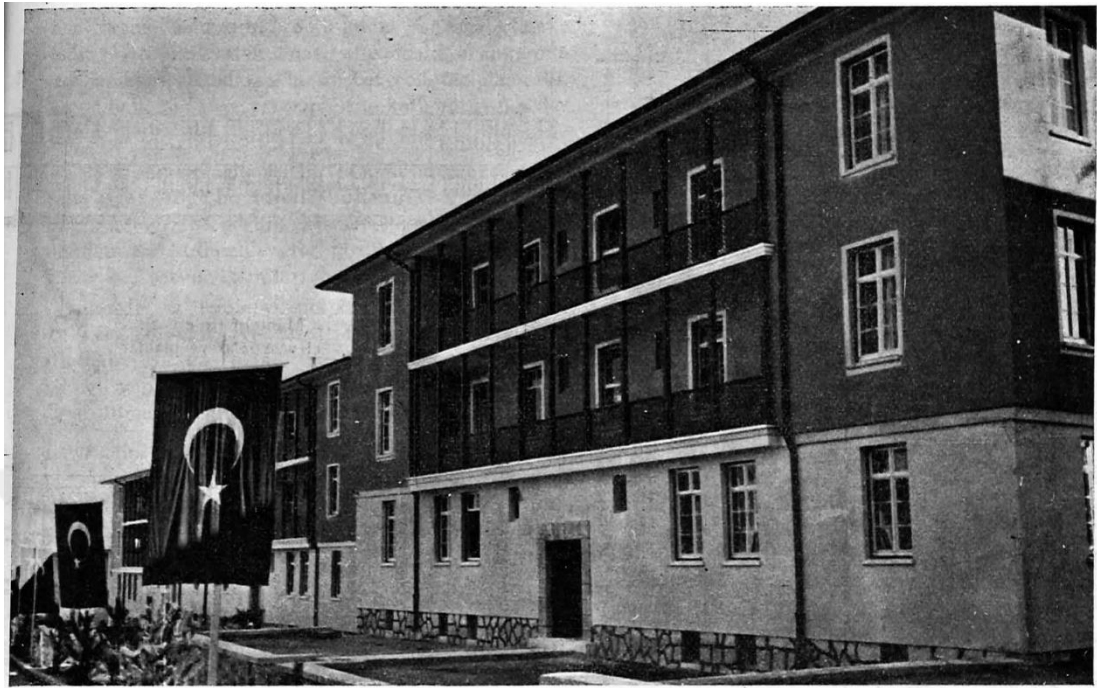


Figure 2.16: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood housing perspective (Sayar, 1946).

Unlike Sayar and Alsaç, many positive comments on the project in *Ulus* newspaper. Sulev (1945) found the width of the apartments, the spacious kitchens, and the basement-level warehouses positive. Another positive article about the neighborhood was “*Milli Mimariye Doğru*” was thought to have been written by Paul Bonatz himself and printed with the signature of Fatih Metigil (Akcan, 2009, p. 364). In this article, the national references for the facades of the buildings and Bonatz art were praised (Metigil, 1945).

The neighborhood has found an important place in the press of the period. While the criticisms made through the newspapers were positive, it is seen that the criticisms made through the magazines were negative. As the neighborhood’s design was found favorable according to the nationalist writing of the time, it is possible that the critics have become harsher in time due to the antagonistic attitude towards foreign architectures. Critiques include significant differences between newspapers and magazines, depending on the political and professional sensitivities of the critics. While the criticisms made through the journal were part of the public relations, the opinions expressed through the magazines reflected the architectural environment. It

is understood from the critiques is that, through Saraçođlu Neighbourhood, the reading of the area's architectural and political atmosphere becomes possible.



3. BREAKDOWN OF AN IDEA: TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY AND THE CITY CENTER

3.1 Postwar Reflections on Ankara

When the Second World War ended in 1945, there had been great changes all over the World as well as in Turkey (Tekeli, 1998). It is possible to trace the increase of American influence in Turkey alongside the cold war and the world split of as a two-blocks (Öymen, 2004).

In the new world order; the value judgment to be a welfare state governed by democracy has been adopted, respecting human rights (Tekeli, 1998). Turkey, to ensure its place in the new world order, has entered into a process of change to adopt these values (Tekeli, 1998). In October 1950, Turkey adopted a multi-party system and the early republican era was closed with the ruling of Democrat Party (Bozdoğan, 2002a, p. 293). Tekeli (1998, p. 12), states that this transition period led to a change in the quality of the republic in the modernity project, which means that the “modernity project is sensitive to populist tendencies”. With this change, the modernity approach and values of the single-party regime had remained in a world that ended with the Second World War.

The Second National Style, rising in the wartime conditions and ended with the postwar changes with the increasing interest in the American modern (Nicolai, 2011, p. 299). Sedad Hakkı Eldem has been updating architectural views and productions on the American influence of architecture, Paul Bonatz, another advocate of the Second National Style, has continued to preserve his traditional ideas (Nicolai, 2011, p. 299). The Second National Style and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which is shown as an example of this style, were criticized in the context of regime and architecture relation. The neighborhood has become a representation of a pre-war world with the change of relations. Thus, the design of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood has become an outdated architectural expression in a short time.

It is possible to say that, in this period, the economic trends of the previous period have changed considerably. After the war, with the liberalization tendency, the private sector gained importance and the foreign market opening process of the economy has begun (Tekeli, 1998). With the aid of Marshall, mechanization in agriculture has begun and railway investments had been replaced by the highway investment strategy (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006). While these two trends provided significant transformations in the economic terms, it is inevitable to see that these changes affected the urbanization processes of the cities. With the development of highway network, demand for production and consumption was increased, domestic and foreign markets were supported (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006). Mechanization and technological developments in agriculture have led to a decrease in the need for labor in agriculture and the start of migration from the rural to the city (Tekeli, 1998). While the rate of urbanization in Ankara until and during the war years was 6 percent, similar urbanization rates and experiences were faced in other cities after the war (Altaban, 1998). As a consequence of these developments, the rapid urbanization in Turkey began.

It is possible to summarize the economic and spatial problems created by the migrant population in the city. Şenyapılı (1985, p. 79) pointed out that the population that broke out of the village between 1945 and 1950 and there were not enough job opportunities for the migrants. The inexperienced migrants often worked in marginal jobs and could not earn enough to have an economically stable living standard (Şenyapılı, 1985, p. 79). The reflection of this economic reality on the city is the beginning of the squatter areas, which is defined as a way of obtaining shelter without paying the migrants. Again with the description of Şenyapılı (1985, p. 117), increased income in agriculture in the following period was invested in the cities and increased the attractiveness of the cities. Under these conditions, the cheap labor force accumulation in the cities increased and accelerated the commercial activities in the cities (Şenyapılı, 1985, p. 117).

The existing authority has established preventive and regulatory legal interventions against urbanization and housing problems while also enacting amnesty laws to legitimize illegally developed urban areas (Tekeli, 1998). Establishments of İller Bank in 1945, The Unions of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB) in

1954 and Ministry of Development and Housing in 1958 were attempts to control the problem of urbanization by forming organized and high-quality institutions (Tekeli, 1998). The laws governing the regulation of squatter areas have not prevented illegal construction and have created the basics of regulations that provide legitimacy to squatter areas (Şenyapılı, 1985, pp. 88-91). Tekeli (1998), summarizes the regulations on the urbanization problem of the period as follows:

Behind these arrangements to create new capacities in the face of living transformation, the modernist line has been tried to be preserved. In cities, however, generation of squatter areas is constantly formed, and apart from the modernity line, the accomplished fact is created. The democratic political order with populist tendencies has been able to make repentance law to these developments in order to legalize these developments. (Tekeli, 1998, p. 13)



Figure 3.1: Rapid urbanizations and squatter areas in the 1960s, Ankara (Günay, 2006).

The population of Ankara in the year 1960 was 650,067 (Günay, 2006). Şenyapılı (1985, p. 142) stated that the population living in the squatter regions was 222,275 in 1958. It is understood from this information that the problem of squatter continued to grow despite the arrangements (Figure 3.1). With the economic crisis at the end of the 1950s, economic policies supported production and consumption for the domestic market, and consumption-oriented industrial establishments emerged, but this situation was not enough to provide the necessary employment in the cities (Şenyapılı, 1985, p. 118). It is understood that despite the rapid migration to the city, the lack of necessary employment had increased the pressure on the cities and led to

the widespread illegal construction and the growth of the housing problem. In this period, interest in housing production due to the rapid urbanization problem has shifted from civil servants to workers' houses and to squatters (Pulat, 1992). The change in the priorities for the housing problem may have led to a decrease in the interest of the government in the production of public housing, such as Saraçoğlu Neighborhood. This situation has allowed Saraçoğlu Neighborhood to become the unique example of the day. In addition, it is possible to conclude that the state's view of civil servants has changed and the importance given to these houses has also started to decline.

By the mid-1950s, the population projected in the Jansen Plan was already overrun and with the unplanned development of housing areas and speculative pressures, the Jansen Plan became ineffective (Günay, 2006). In 1955, the city was required to prepare a new development plan for the capital's unplanned development problem and the International Ankara Urban Development Plan Competition was organized (Kuntay, et al., 1997). Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel won the contest and they stipulated that the population of 455,000 in 1955 would be 1 million² in 1985 and would stay in the existing municipal boundaries (Günay, 2006). The inconsistent population estimates, the restriction on producing solutions for outside municipal boundaries, and the lack of a search for a macro form for the city, unlike to Lörcher and Jansen Plans, show that the perspective of the competition is inadequate (Cengizkan, 2006). As can be seen from the 1960 population information, as in Jansen's plan, population prediction in this competition has also failed. The city's rapid growth and metropolitan tendency were overlooked, so it was anticipated that the new development plan would be prepared without considering the city's potential development. The plan, approved in 1957, was inevitably forced to go into practice due to the pressure of Istanbul's development and both the economic bottlenecks and the intensity of the city (Altaban, 1998).

² Şenyapılı (1985, p. 152) stated that the city is expected to be programmed according to the population of 1,000,000 in the Reconstruction Commission Report. But in some sources, the population forecast is 750,000 people years of 2000.



Figure 3.2: Yücel-Uybadin Development Plan, 1957 (ABB, 2006, p. 56).

Yücel-Uybadin Development Plan has proposed the development of new settlements at the northern and southern ends of the city, continuing the development of the prevailing north-south axis (Kuntay, et al., 1997) (Figure 3.2). The plan identified a new transport network on both the north-south and the east-west axes that provides in-city transportation (Altay, 1997). According to Cengizkan (2006), the plan suggests legitimate solutions to the “cleaner city” aimed for citizens in squatter areas. Cengizkan (2006) also recommended that in the plan report, regulations that increase urban intensity with respect to building heights are proposed and it can support the processes the fold increases and the demolition-building process in the following years. In 1960, despite the objections of Nihat Yücel, who worked as an advisor in the ministry, District Height Regulation was accepted. Based on Flat Ownership Law and District Height Regulation, there was a large building density in Kızılay with new and multi-storey buildings built on the same plots and the same infrastructure facilities (Gökçe, 2008, p. 121) (Figure 3.3). While the city center was concentrated with floor increases, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood continued to preserve its density of the years it was designed. It is understood that the density difference between the neighborhood and the surrounding area had started from these years.



Figure 3.3: The effect of District Height Regulation in Kızılay and its environs (Günay, 2006).

Kuntay (1997) generally assessed the Yücel-Uybadin Plan as follows:

The Yücel-Uybadin Plan acknowledged the tendency to develop along the existing north-south axis and suggested the settlement of new areas at the south and north ends of the city. However, parallel to these developments, new sub-centers were not proposed and the city was planned as a single center for a population of 750,000 people. The intensity increases made in the improved land have also increased the effect of this problem.

In short, the plan is far from giving the city a chance to anticipate possible development needs and make timely decisions for them. The challenge is limited to bringing short-term solutions to existing problems and demands. (Kuntay, et al., 1997, p. 158)

Briefly, the plan has not been able to direct the development of the city and has remained a single-centered and north-south stuck jam in the city, a continuation of the Jansen Plan. The plan did not take precautions regarding the needs of the city or to direct it, but it has attempted to produce short-term solutions to current problems and demands. The city has stepped into the 1960s with an increase of the densities of the improved lands and the migration and related housing and squatter areas had continued.

3.2 Between 1960-1980: The City Under Planning

In Turkey's political regime, the 1960 military coup can be considered as a critical milestone that allows it to be active left view at the political situation in Turkey, for the first time (Tekeli, 1998). It is inevitable that this remarkable change in the way of thinking reflects on urbanization policies. Tekeli (1998) summarizes the view of the Constitution of 1961 from the point of view of collecting and urbanization and its reflections on the city as follows:

...the 1961 Constitution, which entered into force, made important changes in the nature of democracy and the state. In Turkey, a Westminster-type democracy was shifted to a "balanced" and "framed" democracy. In the constitution, the social state principle was adopted and the understanding of the welfare state was introduced. The state has begun to see itself not only in providing its citizens with classical freedoms but also in meeting their material needs. Within this understanding, the Constitution also states that the state will take measures to meet the housing requirements of having a small income family in accordance with the health conditions.

(...) He witnessed the evaluation and criticism of the ongoing urbanization attempt from a socialist point of view. The reflections of this point of view reflected both in the attitudes of the local governments and in the laws concerning the immanence and housing. (Tekeli, 1998, p. 15)

It is understood that urbanization policies in this period will focus on socialist planning, local governments and development of social housing. The State Planning Organization has been established with the goal of development using the country's resources rationally (Tekeli, 1998). In this aspect, the years 1960 began a planned period in Turkey (Altaban, 1998).

Despite the rapid urbanization in this period, agricultural production efforts in rural areas and the emigration to Germany, have slowed the urbanization to a certain extent (Altaban, 1998). In the mid-1960s and early 1970s, a large number of consumption-oriented industrial establishments emerged resulting in investments on domestic market development (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006). But the employment opportunities provided by these investments were inadequate in the increasing population and labor supply (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006). It can be said that this situation led to the continuation of the employment, migration and squatter area problems as it was in the previous period. Ankara had provided important employment with administrative services and industrial services and has continued to grow rapidly

as a metropolitan center until the middle of the 1970s (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006).

According to Tekeli (2006), it was necessary to provide sustainable employment strategies, adequate housing and urban infrastructure in order to manage a rapid urbanization. Tekeli (2006) indicates that there should be a very high capital accumulation for it, but there is no such accumulation in Turkey. The inadequacy of the capital accumulation in the cities and the inadequacy of the knowledge and skills of the population coming to the city with migration makes it difficult to sustain their assets in the city (Şenyapılı, 1985, p. 79). With the rapidly increasing population in the cities, land speculations have increased the urban land prices to amounts that the middle classes cannot afford, and so the urban population had started to spread rapidly out of the municipal boundaries (Tekeli, 2006). Tekeli (1998) states that the current administration did not have the capacity to govern this great transformation. According to Tekeli (1998), the regime's rapid urbanization and its inability to manage the changes in the urban space led to the urban population's determination of urban life with spontaneous solutions. The spontaneous solutions mentioned here are the formation of squatter regions as a solution for the housing problem, and the emergence of “dolmuş” as a solution to the problem of transportation.

The economic conditions of the 1960s caused squatter regulations to be defined as rehabilitating and legalizing squatter areas (Alkışer & Yürekli, 2004). In this period, with the amnesty laws, squatter areas have become a continuous phenomenon, and multi-storey settlement, builder-seller system, concentration of cities and land speculation have become stronger and widespread (Ekinci, 1998). According to Tekeli (1998), the demolition-building processes in the city center had resulted in the damage of historical and cultural values, the constant increase in density, the decrease of green spaces and insufficient social infrastructure. Tekeli (1998) also states that, although the planning environment brought by the 1960s made it possible to produce social housing areas as an alternative to the builder-seller process through cooperatives, the form of housing production through the cooperative did not become widespread. According to Alkışer and Yürekli (2004), in this period the housing problem in the government programs took a wide place. The problem is defined as the housing shortage and the difficulty of obtaining housing, and low-cost, social housing

production is supported. The role of the state in housing production is to be regulatory rather than an investor (Alkışer & Yürekli, 2004). It is understood that there is no interest in the housing production for civil servants in this period. Producing cheap housing and the problem of slums have come to the forefront. This has led to the inability to reproduce samples of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, as a neighborhood produced by the state for civil servants.

At the end of the 1960's, it became clear that the Yücel-Uybadin Plan could not provide a solution to the problems of the city, and the development tendencies of the city outside the municipal boundaries created an increasing pressure (Kuntay, et al., 1997). When the Metropolitan Ankara Planning Office (AMANPB) was established in 1969, a high intensity was formed by the demolition-building processes within the municipal borders and the District Height Regulation, and the city's geomorphologic boundaries began to cross the unplanned urban areas (Günay, 2006). Günay (2006) considers the work of the AMANPB in the 1970s as a threshold jumping from physical planning to comprehensive urban planning. Günay (2006), summarizes Jansen's physical planning and the purpose of AMANPB's comprehensive plan as follows:

In the debate on the Jansen Plan, it was mentioned that the plan emphasized physical planning, and although not improbable, a verse plan-implementation plan within the overall planning logic indicated the existence of integrity. However, pre-plan determinations, area surveys and analysis were based on very simple generalizations. The intention of comprehensive planning is defined as 'research' and 'analysis' based 'master plan' which define the social and economic structure of the city. (Günay, 2006, p. 90)

In a city growing with a rate of 6-6.5% per annum, it is necessary to develop both long-term planning decisions and strategies in order for the planning to be valid and to produce fast and active solutions in the face of existing problems (Altaban, 1998). It is important that these solutions be produced independently from interest groups and without involving practice and legitimizing unlawful regulations. AMANPB has adopted planning as a process with continuity, in which planning and implementation are carried out together, 1990 Ankara Development-Master Plan (AMANP) was produced with an emphasis on the city's top-form, transportation fleet, and growth opportunities to the periphery (Günay, 2006) (Figure 3.4). Ankara 1990 Development Plan was approved by the ministry in 1982 (Günay, 2006). Rather than assessing the Ankara 1990 Development Plan as an overarching development plan, it is necessary

to consider it as strategies and targets developed to open the city beyond the municipal boundaries (Altaban, 1998).

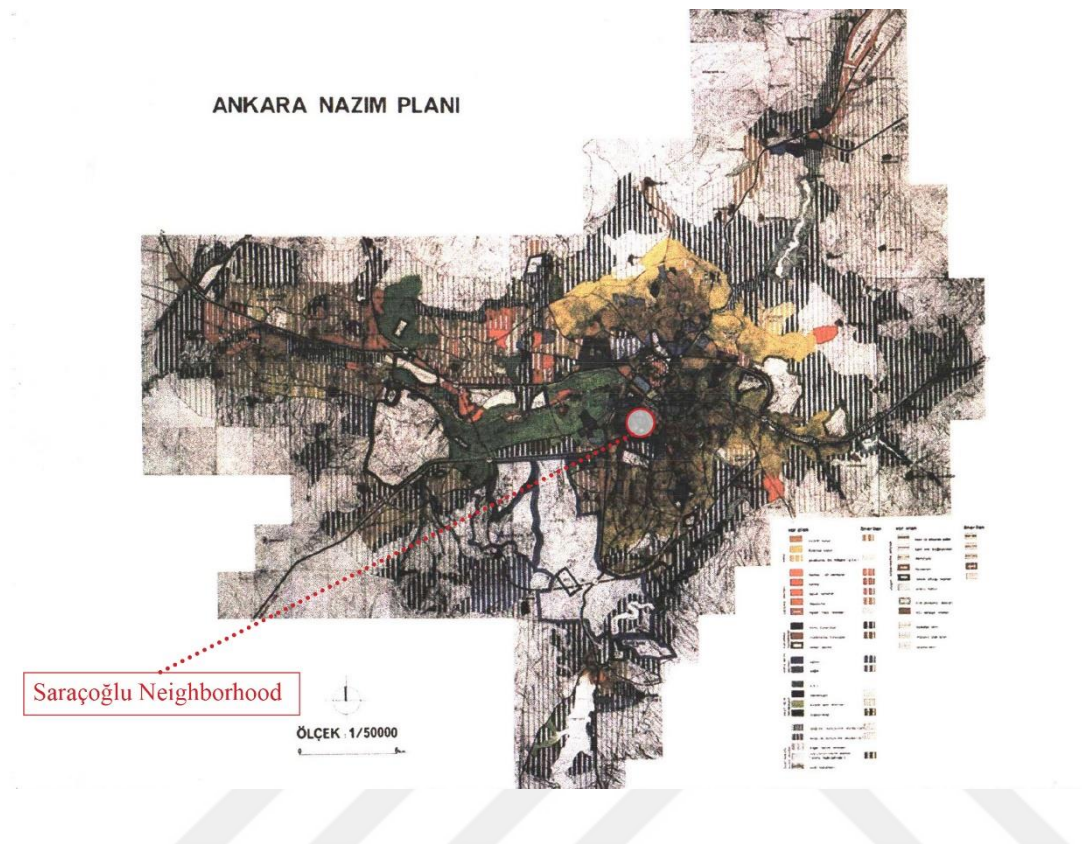


Figure 3.4: 1990 Ankara Development-Master Plan, 1982 (ABB, 2006, p. 57).

It is possible to say that the predictions and implementations of recognition and direction of the development of the city of Ankara by AMANP according to the previously prepared development plans are more realistic. According to Günay (2006), the population for the year 1990 was expected to be between 2,8 and 3,6 million, and when this projection was reached, the population was determined as 2,593,963 persons. Furthermore, by analyzing the geomorphological situation of the city well, the development direction of the city has been determined as western and practices supporting this has been realized (Altaban, 1998). In the core area, intentions for the future were determined by controlling the floor increase (Günay, 2006). Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was registered as the 1st-Degree Urban Site in 1979 when the concentration of the city center was tried to be controlled. Unlike Yücel-Uybadin Plan, it is understood that AMANP deals with the city and the city center together and it interprets Saraçoğlu Neighborhood in the context of preservation of the architectural heritage. Economic policies, service and production balance, quality of physical

environmental conditions, attitude towards environmental pollution, protection of green spaces and cultural areas, accessibility, transportation and infrastructure investments, creating a macro form of organizing trends, providing housing for low income, a multi-faceted urban planning framework were established by setting policies in the attitudes of implementation strategies (Altaban, 1998).

Another feature of the 1970s is that, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and the social democratic governments have developed policies on urban problems (Altaban, 1998). According to Altaban (1998), the municipality staffs, who attached importance to cooperation with AMANPB and adopted the planning as a local government service, worked to pass on to the organized and major development and transportation projects. With the legal amendments made in the 1980s, authority problems between the metropolitan municipalities and the local municipalities have emerged and the integrity of planning and implementation has been replaced by conflicts of authority and inconsistencies between institutions (Altaban, 1998).

AMANPB was actually closed in 1983 (Günay, 2006). Throughout its period of activity, it has provided considerable experience and accumulation of urban planning in Ankara with extensive strategies and scientific studies. Working in harmony with local governments, AMANPB directed the development of the city with multi-actor, holistic and decisive practices. Despite the existence of unplanned zones in the city periphery, urbanization problems were taken under control by planning and development of housing and industrial areas together with transportation and social infrastructures.

3.3 Globalization and Transformation of the City After 1980

It has been a significant change in management with the September 12, 1980 (Turkey coup d'état) in Turkey and it has experienced significant economic changes depending on the restructuring process of the world (Tekeli, 1998). As a result, spatial changes have emerged in the cities and urbanization levels have reached a certain level of saturation (Tekeli, 1998). For these reasons, it was considered as a separate period after 1980. Tekeli (2006) states that after the crisis in the 1970s, the world started to undergo a great transformation. He interprets the main axis of this transformation as the transition from the industrial society to the information society, from the nation-

state to the global world, from the modernist thought to the postmodernist thought. According to Tekeli (2006), with the purpose of adapting to the new world, Turkey has experienced a significant change in mindset with the new economic policies. Tekeli (2006), summarizes economic politics in the following way:

Turkey with import substitution industrialization until the date that is watching the development policy of the closed inward and outward from this year, a development policy based on increasing exports began tracking. Government entrepreneurship has been pushed back and the private sector has been given priority. Of course, this change brought about a fundamental change in mentality in relation to the world. (Tekeli, 2006, p. 17)

It is possible to state that exports and free market conditions were at the forefront and liberal policies were adopted during this period. The economic policy of the period was aimed to increase exports and imports, privatization of state institutions, integration with Europe³, economic reforms, infrastructure and housing construction (Osmay, 1998). Along with the economical policies that Turkey determined, priority to the telecommunications among infrastructure policies and development of new institutions were required by the global economy and accordingly, the banking reform strategies are also important in terms of the articulation of a global world (Tekeli, 1998).

It is inevitable that the economic and political transformations mentioned above are affected not only institutionally but also spatially. This transformation has redefined the roles and positions of the different social groups, leading to the redefinition of the location and significance of different spatial units, cities and regions (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006). These spatial effects and changes can be considered in three main groups. The first is the emergence of a large number of central business areas in cities within the scope of implemented development policies, and this is the transformation of cities into multicenter macro forms (Osmay, 1998). The second spatial effect is that the cities that communicate with the world, serve the foreign markets, and the coastal areas that are tourism-related developments are at the forefront (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006). The last one is to support speculative

³ Turkey's application for full membership in the European Union exist in 1987 are of the steps taken in this regard (Akçura, 1971).

processes-based plunder and high zoning rent in urban land and to be attached to certain legal safeguards (Ekinci, 1998).

In this period, urbanization rates and population growths decreased (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006). As the number of urban settlements was increased and the migratory movements within the country changed into inter-city migrations, the declining fertility rates in the 1990s reduced the rate of urban population growth (Osmaç, 1998).

According to Eraydın and Armatlı-Köroğlu's (2006) report that this decrease in the urban population growth has become even more evident in Ankara, between 1990 and 2000, when population growth was slightly above the natural population growth rate (18.34 per thousand) with 24.8 per thousand. It is understood that Ankara, which faced the increase of the immigration-dependent population until this turn⁴, received less migration and decreased the speed of urbanization in this period. Ankara, which had a population of 3,2 million in 2000, was then entering a period of increasing migration, with the resultant increase of population living in urban areas (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006).

Before 1980 in Ankara, local governments had been working on decentralization of the city and mass housing presentations to solve the housing problem (Altaban, 1998). In this period, with stronger organizations and the presence of actors, both residential areas and business areas were articulated in large parts (Tekeli, 2006). Tekeli (2006) states that institutional arrangements that allow new forms of building presentation, such as the establishment of the Housing Development Administration, blockage of the builder-seller system, and the inability of the city to become immovable by squatter-type building constructions. With the increase in the mass housing production, the share of public rental housing in the rental housing stock has decreased further.

According to Tekeli (1998), Turkey who tries to adopt the housing process does some changes in squatters and shanty arrangements, squatter areas have started to be

⁴ This situation is the one of the important factor that have influenced urban politics for Ankara. The rate of population increase and the rapid urbanization are the result of this factor.

changed to apartment blocks with the builder-seller system. We can summarize this change in the squatter areas:

The squatter amnesty, which took place in 1984 for the legalization of squatters, changed the quality as well. Going beyond being an amnesty for securing housing, the squatters were intended to lead to the building of multi-storey shanty towns with reclamation plans and the opportunity to get a share of the urban land rent from those who made the squatters. Such a change of quality of affirmation of the squatters brought with it the affirmation of illegal structures in the downtown areas of the cities. Thus, urban planning has lost its meaning to a great extent and it has become difficult to defend the modalities of modernization through the zoning plan. (Tekeli, 1998, p. 23)

The above-mentioned squatter amnesty was enacted just before the 1984 local elections, served voting expectations in the elections, and legitimized the shrinking of squatter areas (Ekinici, 1998). With subsequent arrangements, the squatter areas rapidly become apartment buildings, transforming into high land rent areas (Ekinici, 1998).

As another model of housing development, the housing campuses built through the Emlak Bank, Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ), co-operatives and private companies have come to the forefront (Alkışer & Yürekli, 2004). Satellite cities and lodgements (public housings) were produced by this method (Alkışer & Yürekli, 2004). In 1984, TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları were built as a low-density residential settlement in Oran (Kale, 2008, p. 43). Milletvekili Lojmanları is the second state neighborhood that was built after Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Çinici, 2008). The move of parliamentarians from Saraçoğlu Neighborhood to Milletvekili Lojmanları may be a factor in the loss of the prestige that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood is built in. The decline of the prestige of the neighborhood can be considered as one of the factors in neglecting the area.

In general, the strength of the free market economy, the reduction of state influence and control over housing production, despite the fact that the Housing Development Administration was active, its inadequate to produce social housing, has led to the resumption of squatting and squatter land rents (Alkışer & Yürekli, 2004). According to Tekeli (2006), another land rent and land speculation occurred in the parts growing in large pieces of the city. In these regions of the city, powerful actors have directed this growth by applying pressure on their personal interests. Tekeli (2006) notes that this has come with the strengthening of local governments, with the mayors increasing

their powers and using it. Thus, the possibility of directing the development of the city through planning has been largely lost (Tekeli, 2006).

The empowerment of local governments was perceived not only as a matter of administration but also as a matter of democracy, and after 1983 the authorities and resources of the municipalities were significantly increased (Tekeli, 1998). In various legal arrangements, the planning and implementation authorities were distributed to the metropolitan municipality, district municipalities and governorships (Altaban, 1998). According to Altaban (1998), the dissemination of planning and enforcement powers fragmented the entirety of planning and implementation, which had been achieved in the previous period. However, according to Tekeli (1998), despite the disagreements between existing management and planning and implementation and conflicts of authority, the search for new planning has continued. Moreover, according to the description of Tekeli (1998), the question of existing planning paradigms and the search for new approaches have made the transition towards the adoption of strategic planning approach and resilient planning. Tekeli (1998) emphasizes the importance of social processes and urban form relations in resilient planning approach, this means that planning is not considered as a technical issue but as a democracy project. The Ankara 2015 Structural Plan of 1986 and the Ankara 2025 Development Plan, which has been in operation since 1990, are the principal (strategic) plan schemes produced in this context (Tekeli, 1998).

- In the proposed decentralization, settlements in a ring of 35-40 km should produce a star-shaped macro form supported by public transport facilities.
- The produced macro form should allow for richer alternatives in the future.
- The green belt around the city must reach a depth of 8-10 km and thus create a microclimatic effect for the city.

When the Ankara 2015 Structural Plan is examined, it is understood that the policies proposed by the plan are consistent with the 1990 Development Plan. The decentralization prediction, which is considered together with population prediction and transportation and economy, has a continuity with the 1990 Development Plan.

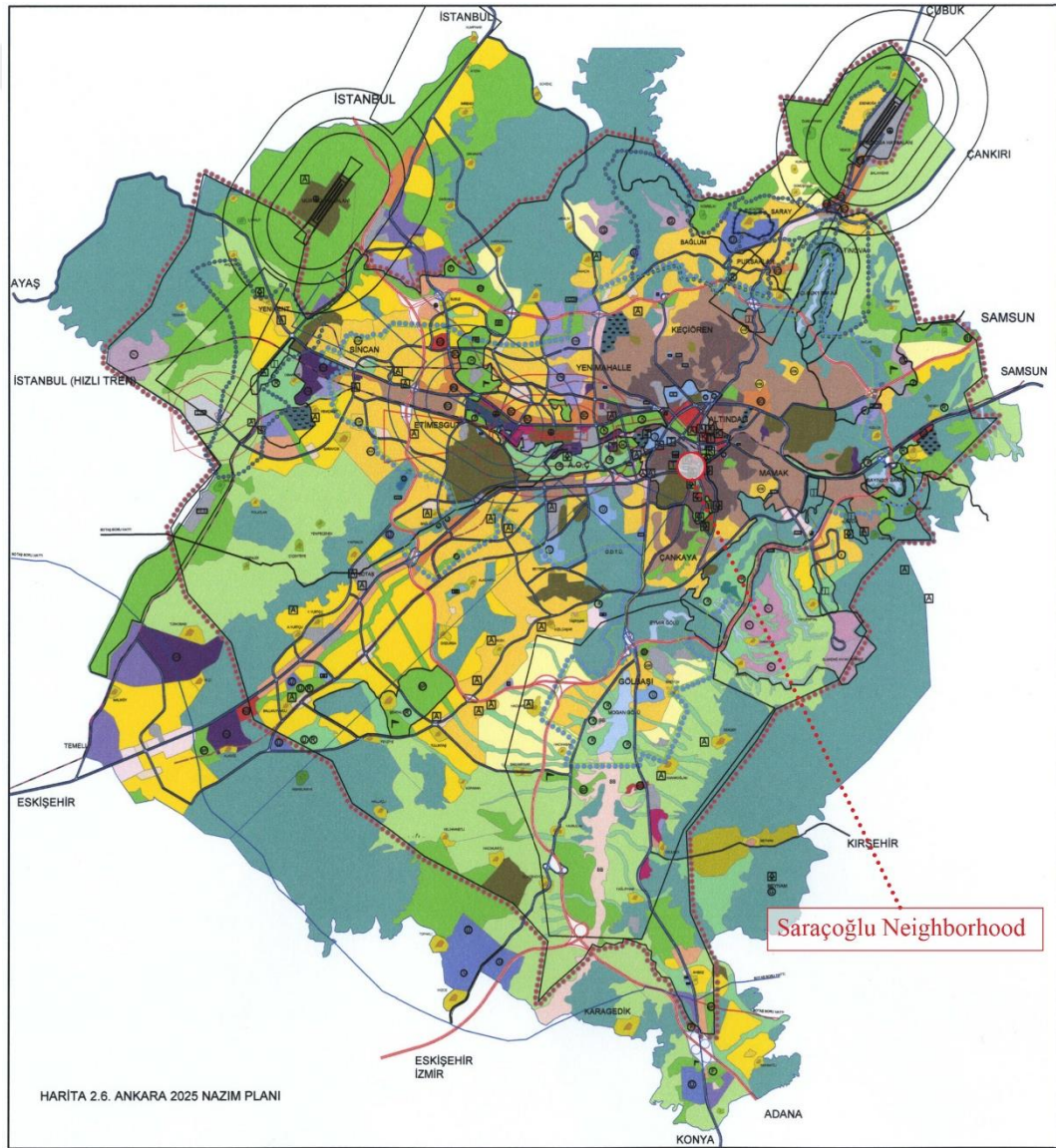


Figure 3.6: Ankara 2025 Metropolitan Area Sub-Region Master Plan, 1990 (ABB, 2006, p. 59).

The Ankara 2015 Structural Plan has undergone a decision-making process and, as a result, it remains part of a multi-corridor top form and urban strategy work. The plan is not officially endorsed, although it guides the development and implementation plans of the metropolitan area (Günay, 2006).

Since 1989, the Urban Development Department within the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has been reorganized, intervening in parts of urban areas and topics and trying to take control of the entire city with Ankara 2025 Study (Günay, 2006) (Figure 3.6). Projects such as squatter reclamation, cleaning and conversion works, infrastructure and sewerage projects, Ankaray Project which require financial resources and human power, constitute areas where the city has been intervened (Altaban, 1998). In Ankara 2025 Study, how the protected areas in the metropolitan area will be preserved, how the city's macro form will be shaped, urban development corridors, population and functions of development axes are determined by general frameworks (Kuntay, et al., 1997). However, the 1/50000 scale Ankara 2025 Metropolitan Area Sub-Region Master Plan has not been not officially approved because the authority to prepare the plan in this measure is in the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (Günay, 2006). As a result, residential areas were planned with mid-term master plans and implementation development plans until the mid-1990s (Altaban, 1998).

According to Günay (2006), central administrations do not have the equipment and intentions to provide such holistic planning services. In this case, Günay (2006) states that urban development is managed with local plans in the direction of local administrations, property owners and investors. According to Günay (2006), after the 1990 Master Plan, Ankara did not produce a plan to manage the whole⁵, and while the effect of the 1990 Master Plan was shrinking, the city control was spreading in a difficult way. The city is growing in a contradiction, both concentrating in the center and spreading towards the city periphery.

⁵ Until the Ankara 2023 Master Plan was prepared, the development of the city as a whole was tried to be managed with 1990 Master Plan and various revisions of the plan (Sağdıç, 1994).

3.4 Current Planning Searches for Ankara

With the increase in global mobility of capital and the development of information technologies, urban-region relations have begun to change (Osmy, 1998). This has been influential in Ankara, as housing, service and management functions have shifted south and southwest of the city (Gökçe, 2008, p. 133). Eskişehir Road, Oran, Bilkent have become sub-centers by specializing in areas such as housing, shopping center, production and information technology (Gökçe, 2008, pp. 133-139). Ankara has been extreme decentralized with unplanned and fragmented practices and the forms of urban relations have become uncontrollable.

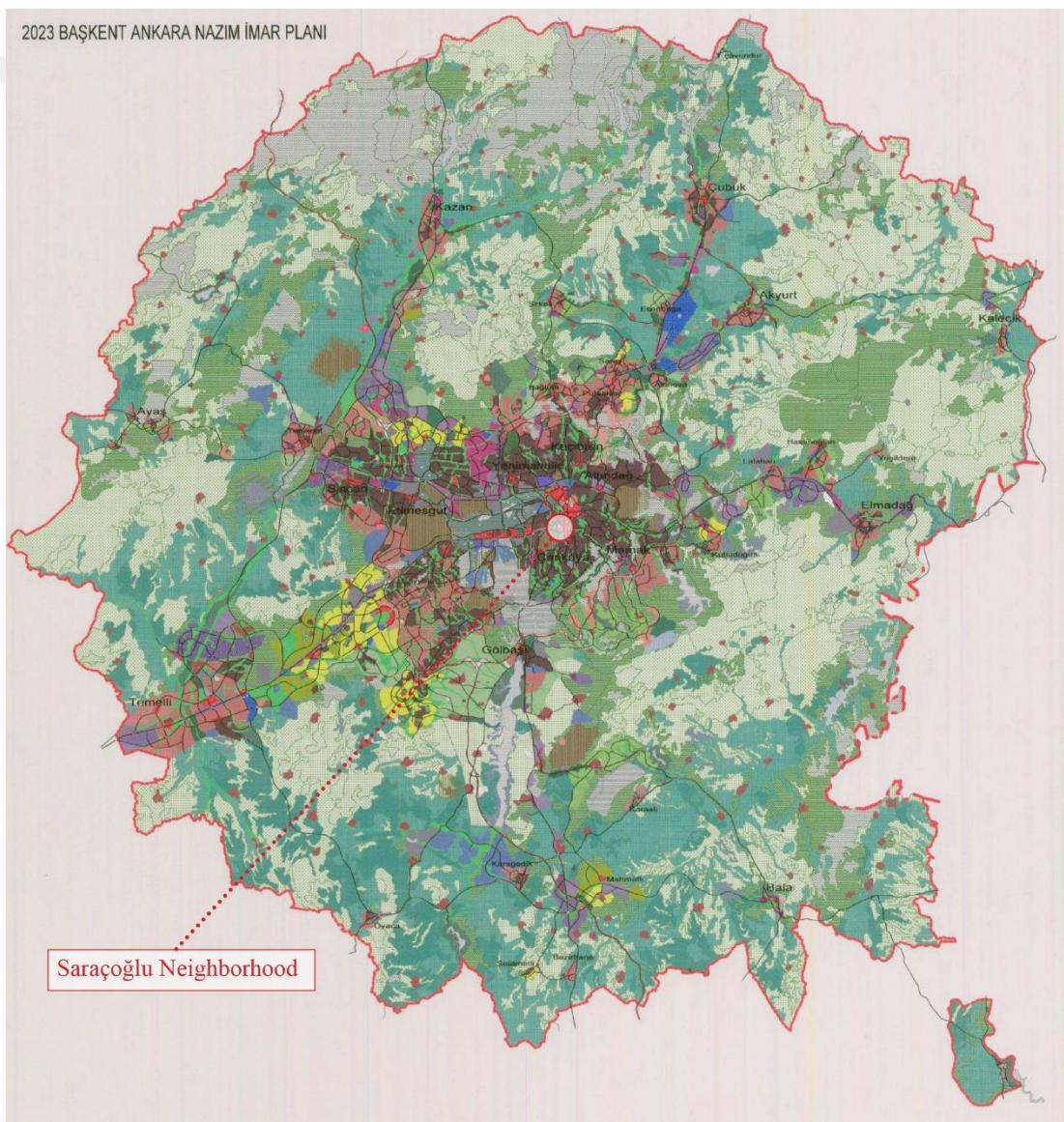


Figure 3.7: 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan, 2007 (ABB, 2006, p. 705).

Since the 1990 Ankara Development Plan, Ankara has continued its search for macro forms and policies. Although Ankara 2015 Structural Plan and Ankara 2025 Study are not formally approved, they have an important place in terms of the studies on the planned development of the city. In 2006, 1/25.000 scale 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan was prepared with the aim of directing the planned urbanization of the capital and officially approved in 2007 (ABB, 2007) (Figure 3.7). 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan aims to identify chronic problems in the core area and development and speculation independently from the upper scale in the newly developed regions of the city and to develop intervention methods (ABB, 2006, p. 8). The objectives and strategies of the plan can be summarized as follows:

- To provide specialization of Ankara in science, culture and service sectors and increase their value,
- To produce macro form options for population-labor, urban infrastructure and public resources,
- To create systems to reduce social and socio-economic inequalities,
- Protect and improve natural, ecological, environmental, cultural, historical and urban values and potentials,
- To design and direct urban life in a transparent and participatory way (ABB, 2006, p. 15).

The 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan, which is based on the qualitative and quantitative development of capital's historical and urban values, foresees the preparation of a conservation development plan for Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and Bakanlıklar District (ABB, 2006, p. 405).

Following the expansion of the ABB borders and realm of authority in 2012, a macro plan with a vision of 2038 was prepared in 2017 (ABB, 2017, p. 3). 1 / 100.000 scale 2038 Ankara Environment Plan has been formally approved with the aim of being compatible with the existing development plan⁶ and enabling the sub-scale plans (ABB, 2017, p. 641). The 2038 Ankara Environment Plan is considered as a process management for the target year (ABB, 2017, p. 9). It is aimed to update the targets,

⁶ 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan.

principles and strategies by revising the plan in five-year periods in order to protect the currency and to ensure the adaptation in the city's rapid change (ABB, 2017, p. 641).

The 2038 Ankara Environment Plan proposes the protection of urban, environmental, natural and cultural values and the preparation of conservation development plans (ABB, 2017, p. 417). It is understood that the plan is consistent with the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan in terms of the approach to urban conservation areas. In 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was embraced together with Bakanlıklar District. It is emphasized that the neighborhood should be taken up with Kızılay city center and Güvenpark in 2038 Ankara Environment Plan (ABB, 2017, p. 417). The current two plans emphasize that the neighborhood should be handled with its surroundings. But, there is inconsistency or confusion in determining the influence area of the neighborhood.

When both plans are examined, it is understood that efforts are being made to produce holistic visions so that the development of the city can be controlled again. The city is considered as a living organism with a wide and diverse range of interaction.

In this part of the Ankara urban development from the Second World War, socio-political and economic trends in different periods and their effects on urban planning were examined and different planning experiments were revealed. On the one hand, the city struggled with unplanned residential areas and, on the other hand, tried to determine and manage urban macro forms. The urban development of the Republican history has an advanced parallel to the history of modernization and democratization, witnessed the efforts of the country to integrate with the world, and the difficulties of rapid urban development. Tekeli (2006, p. 21) summarizes the dimensions of rapid urbanization, “Turkey experienced an urbanization process that was completed in a very short time compared to European examples who had a much more favorable capital accumulation. The urbanization of Turkey took the same time with a lifespan of a person”. When urbanization of Turkey and Ankara is examined, there seems to be a lot of examples regarding the republic era and planning experience as well as future urban experiences.

Table 3.1: Ankara city population, plan period and plan population estimates between 1957-2018.

YEAR	POPULATION	PLAN PERIOD	POPULATION START	POPULATION ESTIMATE	TARGET YEAR
1957		Uybadin-Yücel Plan	455 000	750 000	2000
1960	650 067				
1970	1 236 152				
1980	1 877 755				
1982		Ankara 1990 Master Plan	1 236 000	2 800 000 - 3 600 000	1990
1985	2 251 533				
1986		Ankara 2015 Structural Plan	2 250 000	3 608 000 / 4 078 000 / 4 986 000	2000 / 2005 / 2015
1990	2 583 963	Ankara 2025 Plan			
2000	3 889 199**				
2007	4 294 678**	2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan	2 609 660	7 568 500	2023
2018	5 445 026**				

** TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute) data are taken as basis for the year 2000 and thereafter.

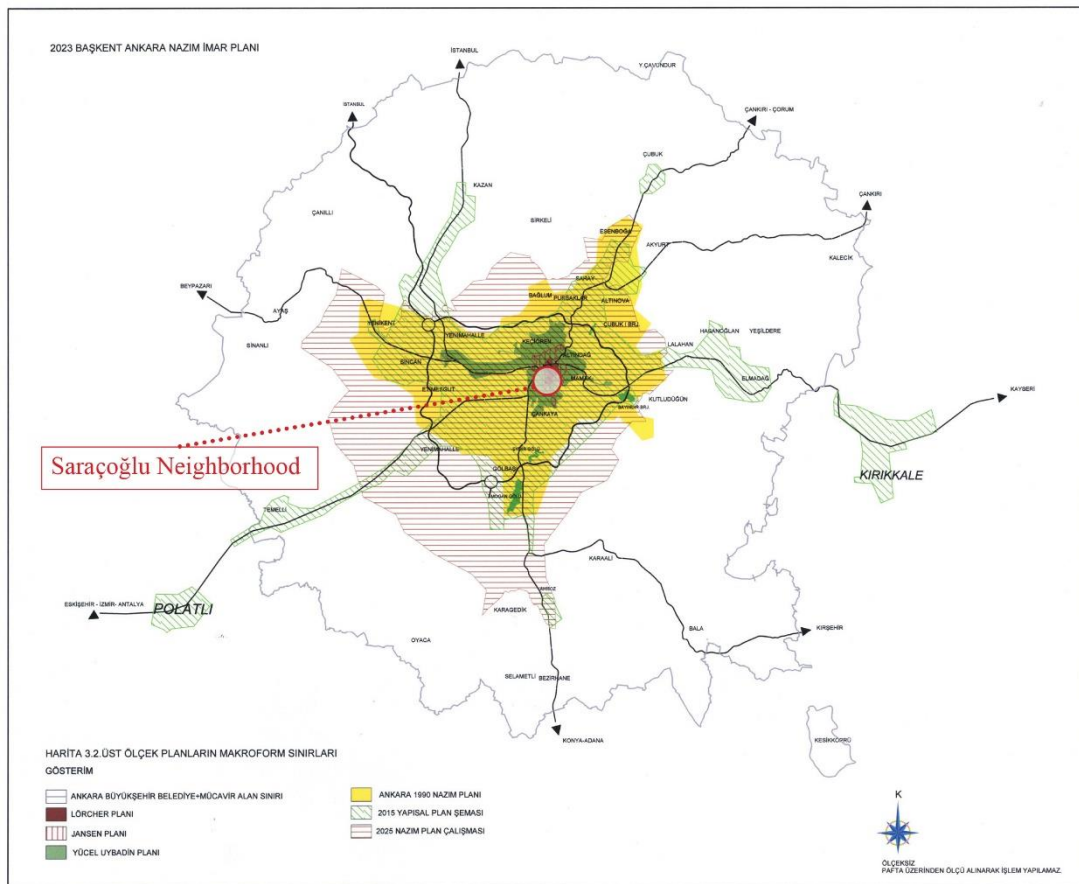


Figure 3.8: Macroform Limits of Planning Studies (ABB, 2006, p. 75).

3.5 Identity Crisis of the Capital City

In previous chapters, the physical change of the capital, economic and administrative policies, planning experiments and unplanned developments were taken as a whole. With this review, the change in the capital over time and its causes have been tried to be explained together with their results. The development of the capital after the

Second World War and its encounter with urban interventions have been divided into four parts, taking into account both planning and socio-political and economic situations. These three parts correspond to the political breaking point in Turkey's history of modernity. There is a tendency to use architecture as a means of embodying the power and thoughts of power and the primary location of this demonstration is the cities. For this reason, the breaking points of the Turkish political history show parallelism with the differences in approach to the physical transformation of the city of Ankara. In other words, it is possible to group important changes of approach, especially in metropolitan cities, on the basis of planning and management, in parallel with the political breaks.

When the urban and socio-economic changes before and after the Second World War are considered together, it is important to note that the pre-war and post-war worlds include significant intellectual and physical differences. Having an important value and meaning in the pre-war world, Ankara's identity as a capital has changed along with intellectual and physical values in the postwar world and has gradually lost its meaning (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006). To analyze this loss of meaning requires an investigation that covers economic, political and social changes. At this point, we will be guiding the economic, political and social examination of the change of the city in the previous chapters.

The world was being rapidly changed after the war and Turkey was trying to adapt to those changes, so she underwent transformations such as changing economic approaches, moving into a multi-party system, adapting populist modernity, different approaches to the urban and environmental changes, all in a very short time. All these changes were reflected physically in the city, especially in the city center. Ankara, the capital city, has undergone transformations for its capital identity, with its role differentiating itself in the postwar period and in the prewar period, and with the change in the post-war world.

After the declaration of the Republic, the capital is identified with the success of the regime as a model city in which the new bourgeoisie with national sensitivities and lifestyle will be formed (Tekeli, 2006). As mentioned previously, the country's resources were largely devoted to the development of the capital, new state institutions were being established and the capital was rapidly migrating. As a model of the rise of

the new regime, Ankara was the most important center of the nation-state in the middle of Anatolia (Batur, 1983, p. 1384). During the early Republican period, Ankara was organized not only spatially, but also as a system of thinking and creation of a modern lifestyle (Bozdoğan, 2002a, pp. 67-68). Saraçoğlu Neighborhood can be considered as an architectural production in which the modern lifestyle that the state was trying to create was reflected through civil servants. In a world where Istanbul and Izmir have lost their relative importance, Ankara was the city on the forefront of the regime⁷ (Tekeli, 2006). According to Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 234), Ankara was not only considered as the place where the national bourgeoisie was created or the state embodied by the nation-state, but also the center of the enlightened idea which inspired by the new and the west. Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 62) states that in the Atatürk revolutions and in the capital's reconstruction, innovation against the old is frequently emphasized. Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 62) points out that the ideas that stand against traditionalism such as progress, modernity and enlightenment were considered as the main theme of the regime, both in social and political life and in the development of Ankara through architectural language and planning. Bozdoğan (2002a, p. 68) also provides a better understanding of the mission and value placed in Ankara through the quote from 1932 *Vilayetlerimiz: Ankara* book and 1936 *Bir Avrupa Şehri: Ankara*:

The latter, in turn, became 'a grateful offspring dutifully caring for her: adorning her grim land and poor neighborhoods with beautiful buildings and glorious institutions with modern construction wide boulevards and public squares with monuments and statues.' ... 'The construction of Ankara has effectively transformed the map of Europe. We can now claim that Europe starts in Ankara. Was not this the purpose of our revolution?' (Bozdoğan, 2002a, p. 68)

Until the Second World War, Ankara was semantically in a privileged position compared to other cities. After the Second World War, with reshaped the effect of ties to the world, the values attributed to the city began to change in Turkey. As discussed in detail in the previous chapters, with the end of Second World War, the world, had entered the process of restructuring. And in this process, in the context of administrative, economic and human rights, the prevailing worldviews and values began to change. The change of economic trends in order to adapt to a changing world

⁷ It is to be emphasized here that the word "regime" is used instead of "state" or "authority", that in the early republican period, a total revolution in from economy to sanatoria, from architectural structure to social structure has been realized and the construction of a total thought has been realized.

in Turkey brought together important social and spatial influences on rural and urban life. In the process that Tekeli (2006) calls popularization of modernity, it is seen that the migration from city to city spread to other cities and that both physical and social aspects of the cities have changed dramatically. The rapid urbanization and the diversity of employment areas spread to other cities (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006). The addition of small industrial services to the areas of employment provided both by the public and administrative services, the changing mentality of understanding the postwar world and the foreground of rehabilitating Istanbul in this period, has weakened Ankara's unique status as the capital and the administrative center of the state (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006).

The developing city experienced planned interventions along with spontaneous ones by ignoring the tendency to become a metropolitan. And this resulted with the loss of meaning that Jansen plan physically structured. Thus, the contextual relations of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which was designed as a Jansen Plan scenario, weakened. The planning approaches of the 1970s allowed the expansion of the city by expanding out of the boundaries of Jansen Plan and the development of alternative settlement and employment conventions. These developments have intensified as the city center hosted different business lines and have been diversified and overcoming the homogeneous structure of the capital administrative, economic and social life (Osmay, 1998).

Cengizkan's (2006) interpretation is that the factors which constitute the physical characteristics of the city such as urban aesthetics, public spaces and urban gaps⁸ have been ignored in the Yücel-Uybadin plan and in the development of the city center after 1960. At this point, it seems that the whole city form, the population movements, the economic situation, that is, the idea of a capital thought in every direction, is beginning to be lost. The newly established planned and aesthetic image of the capital leaves its place to the image of a city that develops and integrates with the world (Cengizkan, 2006). As a matter of fact, this transformation has begun to change the identity of the capital and the city memory irrevocably, with unplanned and sometimes irregular

⁸ These factors are considered in the Lörcher and Jansen Plans as urban crown Ankara Castle, green bands and perception corridors, urban spatial characteristics, administrative center, urban open space and public space strategies.

interventions. According to Bilsel (1997), in the changing conditions of urban life, ending the structural change process becomes an unexpected thing as tendencies and pressures on demands continue. But in such changes, it is necessary to protect the city memory and the spaces and structures that constitute the urban continuity (Bilsel, 1997).

After 1980, once again as the thinking system and economic approach in world relations established by Turkey, which Tekeli (2006) defines as the transition to postmodern thought, Turkey has entered into a dramatic change. According to Tekeli (2006), in this period, privatization, integration with the world, technological investments and banking services that came to front came together with the spatial effects that enable the different social groups and positions in cities changed, as well as the order of importance between cities. According to Eraydın and Armatlı-Köroğlu (2006), another spatial effect is the emergence of cities that communicate with the world. In this context, while the importance of Istanbul was increasing due to both the developments of tourism in the coastal areas and the ability to produce and service to foreign market, the role of Ankara was losing its importance with its interest in domestic market (Tekeli, 1998). The decline of the sovereignty of the state mechanism and consequently the decrease of public employment and migration to Ankara have caused decrease of Ankara's previous importance and thus Ankara has turned into an observer with globalization (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2006). In Ankara, where the management functions are decreasing, the values and importance attributed to civil servant and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood have decreased. Eraydın and Armatlı-Köroğlu (2006) also comment on Ankara's investments in the machinery and defense industry as an effort to make Ankara an industrial and technology center while trying to win its lost meaning back in different ways.

In the production process and development of the Republican modernity, Ankara sought to maintain its presence in the new world by seeking to lose its semantic identity, reinterpret, and gain a new identity. All this transformation process means that the plan of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which is based on Jansen Plan and built in

the pre-war world, also means that it has possession in the era when it is built, and the values and physical state⁹ (in the context of urban center) it represents.

3.6 Transformation of Kızılay the City Center

The development and planning of the city were described in the previous chapters, without a particular focus on the city center. The transformation of the city center needs to be examined in a separate section, within its historical continuity. In this chapter, factors¹⁰ affecting the foundation, development and dissolution of urban space, and the spatial and sociological changes of the city center were examined.



Figure 3.9: View of from Ulus to Bankalar Street (Sağdıç, 1994).

Until 1924, Ankara city center was defined as a linear line extending from the Ankara Castle to the Gar, but after it became the capital, it has transformed a place that reflects the state authority, with the inclusion of the administrative buildings axle to Atatürk Boulevard (Bilsel, 1997) (Figure 3.9). The city center projected in the 1932 Jansen Plan was designated as Ulus, and Yenışehir and Kızılay were planned as residential areas for civil servants (Figure 3.10). Bakanlıklar District, Kızılay and Saraçoğlu

⁹ Here, the physical state, both in the city center and in terms of urban planning and architectural quality, is expressed as a whole.

¹⁰ such as planning approaches, land speculation, changing economic and political attitudes, increasing population, changing the production and consumption balances in the city.

Neighborhood that Jansen referred to as State District, was designed not as a center for the city but rather as a district close to Ulus. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which is designed as a residential area serving ministries, has become a residential area in the sub-center of the city. Having become a residential area close to the city center, the neighborhood was inevitably influenced by Kızılay's changes.



Figure 3.10: View from Kızılay residential area in the 1940s (Gökçe, 2008, p. 117).

Up to 1950, Ulus continued to function as a single center. After 1950, Kızılay attracted attention as a sub-center with services and trade functions for the upper-income groups (Bilsel, 1997). According to the statement of Bilsel (1997), as the city became a center of management, the restaurants, halls, entertainment places, cultural places, parks and squares that reflect the lifestyle of the changing social sector and provide service for this cut created differences in the social structure of the city. According to Bilsel (1997), this difference was seen as a functional and cultural transition and differentiation between the central Ulus and the sub-center Kızılay. Cultural spaces such as opera, exhibition, theater and recreation areas, Gençlik Park and Güvenpark, have set up the axle extending from Ulus to Kızılay and serve the city's new social sectors in the process up to 1950 (Bilsel S. G., 1997).

With the changing economic conditions since the 1950s and the intensive migration to the city, the urban population has increased and the urban centers have begun to concentrate rapidly. While the trade and small-scale production activities providing employment in the city concentrated in Kızılay and Ulus, the division of labor and specialization were formed between the two centers depending on the income group and social structure distribution (Bilsel, 1997). According to Bilsel (1997), this

situation enabled Ulus to maintain its existence as one of the two centers for many years and also caused a small variety of functions as a city center for Kızılay. Although Yücel-Uybadin Plan report of 1957 stated that the development of commercial use transformation in Kızılay region is going to be developed, it was predicted that the center would be in Ulus and its surroundings (Cengizkan, 2006). However, from the beginning of the 1950s, Yenışehir, Kızılay and its surrounding areas have been increasingly concentrated on fold increases and land speculation (Altaban, 1998) (Figure 3.11). Although Yücel-Uybadin's plan does not consider Kızılay as a city center, it is possible to say that it is aware of its development potential. This plan suggests regulations that increase building heights and urban intensities around Kızılay and its surrounding areas, thus raising criticism that it supports the demolition-building processes in the city center and the pressure of floor increases¹¹. As a matter of fact, with the District Height Regulation adopted in 1960, Kızılay and its environs have focused on interventions that are not based on a comprehensive plan. It can be interpreted that the 1960 District Height Regulation was a decision made in the direction of the market mechanism and the land rent expectation, without considering the results of the scientific basis¹². This intervention, defined by Bilsel (1997), as “the most significant and most brutal structural change in terms of results seen in all the established areas of Ankara developing after the Republican era”, led to 9-10 floors, attached buildings, 7-8 times more intensively used than Kızılay and its surroundings.



Figure 3.11: Kızılay in the 1950-1960s (Gökçe, 2008, p. 118).

¹¹ See. Page 41.

¹² Özcan Altaban (1998) states that although the report against Nihat Yücel's plan contradicts the plan, the construction capacity is increased abnormally without any scientific jurisdiction.

Bakanlıklar and State District are outside of the ministries region, which is not sufficient for new structures and functions in this period (Cengizkan, 2002, p. 644). In this period, as suggested in the Yücel-Uybadin Plan, the newly constructed management buildings were designed around the Bakanlıklar District, and also in a campus. (Cengizkan, 2006).

While Kızılay's rapid concentration and commercial use were at the forefront, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood continued to exist as a residential area in the city center. It is inevitable that this was causing pressure on the neighborhood's density and function. With the validity loss of the Jansen Plan, the physical relations established by the city of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood have weakened. It is not wrong to state that with the changes in the use of the city center, the relation of the neighborhood with its surroundings was weakened. Although Saraçoğlu Neighborhood succeeded in preserving its urban values, the transformations of its surrounding caused the loss of urban references. It is inevitable that the contradictions between the neighborhood and its surrounding, which do not have a parallel transformation with Kızılay, give rise to various problems and pressures.

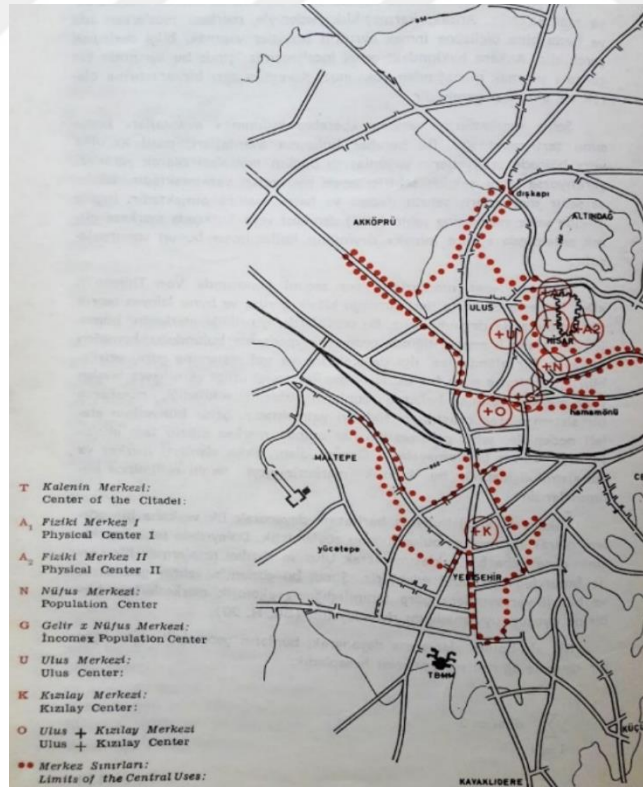


Figure 3.12: Two Centers of Ankara, the 1970s. (Akçura, 1971, p. 111).

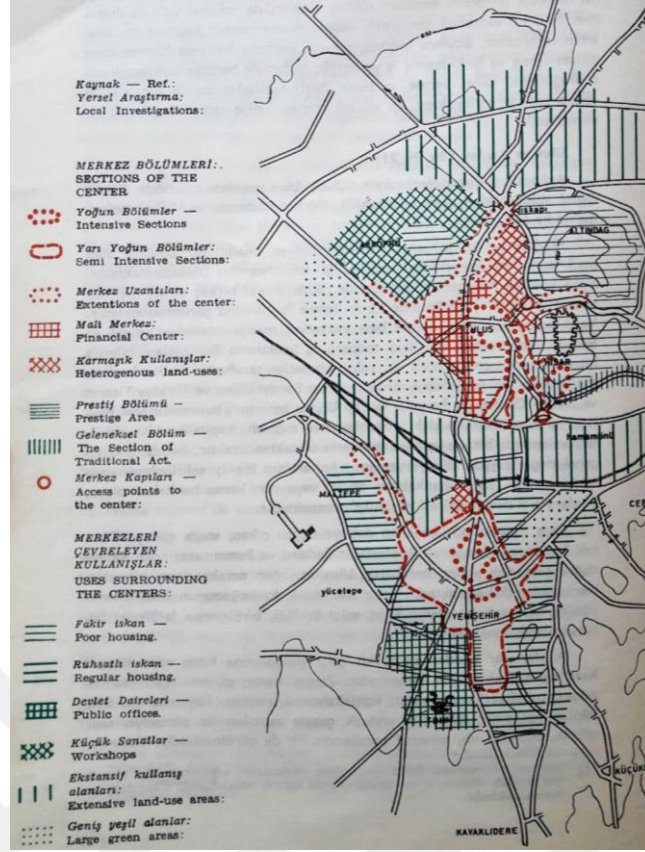


Figure 3.13: Two centers and characteristics of Ankara, the 1970s (Akçura, 1971, p. 120).

In the 1970s, Kızılay, along with Ulus, was one of the two central business districts of the city. While Ulus was more engaged in wholesale trade, Kızılay has become a region where the capital's administrative, retail trade and service functions were concentrated (Osman, 1998) (Figure 3.12) (Figure 3.13). It is seen that business sharing that existed between Ulus and Kızılay in the previous years continued in these years as well. However, while the commercial activities in the previous period were concentrated in Kızılay, it is understood that Kızılay was converted into a center with different functions. While the high-rise buildings, which are the result of Kızılay's demolition-building process became commercial establishments and shops as passages, banking, finance and service institutions also take place in Kızılay being the central business district, which creates functional differences and diversity (Osman, 1998). Functional differences and diversity was an effect that increased Kızılay's attractiveness and intensity of use. It is observed that some of the houses on the ground floor have started to be used for commercial purposes in Saraçoğlu Neighborhood.

This change in the neighborhood may be thought to be the effect of the function-based transformation in the city center on the neighborhood.

The approach taken by AMANPB and the Ankara 1990 Master Plan to the Ankara core area is that the decisions of Yücel-Uybadin Plan and District Height Regulation decisions are to be continued together with some interventions (Günay, 2006). According to Günay (2006), Ankara regional areas have been established and the results of these researches, intentions for the future have been identified and implementation was left to local governments. Again, according to Günay (2006), Ankara 1990 Master Plan proposed new ways of linking the core area and the peripheral area, linking these roads to the routes determined in previous plans, and has not been able to bring innovation to the regional linking systems.

The rapid concentration of urban centers also necessitates arrangements for transportation to centers. While urban transportation had been provided by the municipality before, the rapid growth of the cities resulted in inadequate public transport services and the transportation habits of the cities changed in an informal way (Tekeli, 2006). Problems related to vehicle density and transportation pollution have arisen in Kızılay due to motor vehicle-oriented transformations such as the expansion of the Atatürk Boulevard and the dolmuş-stops located at Güvenpark. (Osmay, 1998). Güvenpark dolmuş stops have increased Kumrular Avenue's vehicle traffic and brought traffic pollution to the Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Figure 3.14).



Figure 3.14: Güvenpark dolmuş stops, the 1970s (Vatan Gazetesi, 2018).

The Urban Transportation Project¹³ prepared in 1985 and Transportation Master Plan¹⁴ of 1994 were comprehensive studies prepared in accordance with the Ankara 1990 Master Plan and aimed at solving the problems related to transportation and traffic system and while aiming at macro form (Babalık-Sutcliffe, 2006). According to the description of Babalık-Sutcliffe (2006), these studies have foreseen that the problems of transportation will be avoided before increasing more like reducing the use of cars in the city, increasing public transport and rail systems, promoting pedestrian access and increasing the number of environmentally friendly modes of transportation by taking into account the problems of low environmental and life quality and air pollution caused by excessive accumulation of the city in the central area. However, although the transportation plan is addressed in a comprehensive and holistic manner, it can be seen that the objectives of the 1994 Transportation Master Plan could not be achieved because the integrity between planning and implementation was deteriorated in the 1980s (Altaban, 1998). Although the 1998 Ankara Transportation and Traffic Improvement Survey developed an application proposal for traffic management, the

¹³ It is not officially approved.

¹⁴ It continues the principles of the Urban Transport Project and is officially approved.

recommended practices were not realized (Acar, et al., 2004, p. 16). The failure to implement complementary policies and regulations recommended in the transportation plan has adversely affected the efficiency of the rail system and traffic levels, the later regulations that accelerate the subsequent vehicle traffic and make the pedestrian circulation difficult are also contradictory to the plan (Babalık-Sutcliffe, 2006).



Figure 3.15: Kızılay and its environs, which are concentrated at the 1970-1980s (Günay, 2006).

In the 1980s, economic restructuring, developments in telecommunication technology, capital movements and real estate market, decentralization and multi-centered urban formations were the factors that triggered the change of cities, especially in the city centers (Osmy, 1998) (Figure 3.15). On the one hand, the new centers such as Tunalı Hilmi, Atakule, Gaziosman Paşa and Eskişehir Roads were formed in the city and on the other hand, the formation of new housing areas and shopping centers, urban habits and patterns of using urban space have begun to change (Gökçe, 2005) (Figure 3.16). The problems based on Ankara's loss of importance, the decentralization of the city, the emergence of different centers depending on it, and the fact that Kızılay is too dense as building stock and function, are the news of the dissolution of the city center. The public authority that formed the city center has left its place to private capital,

which cannot be controlled by the public, beyond the borders of the nation-state, and to the urban contradictions, it has directed (Gökçe, 2005).

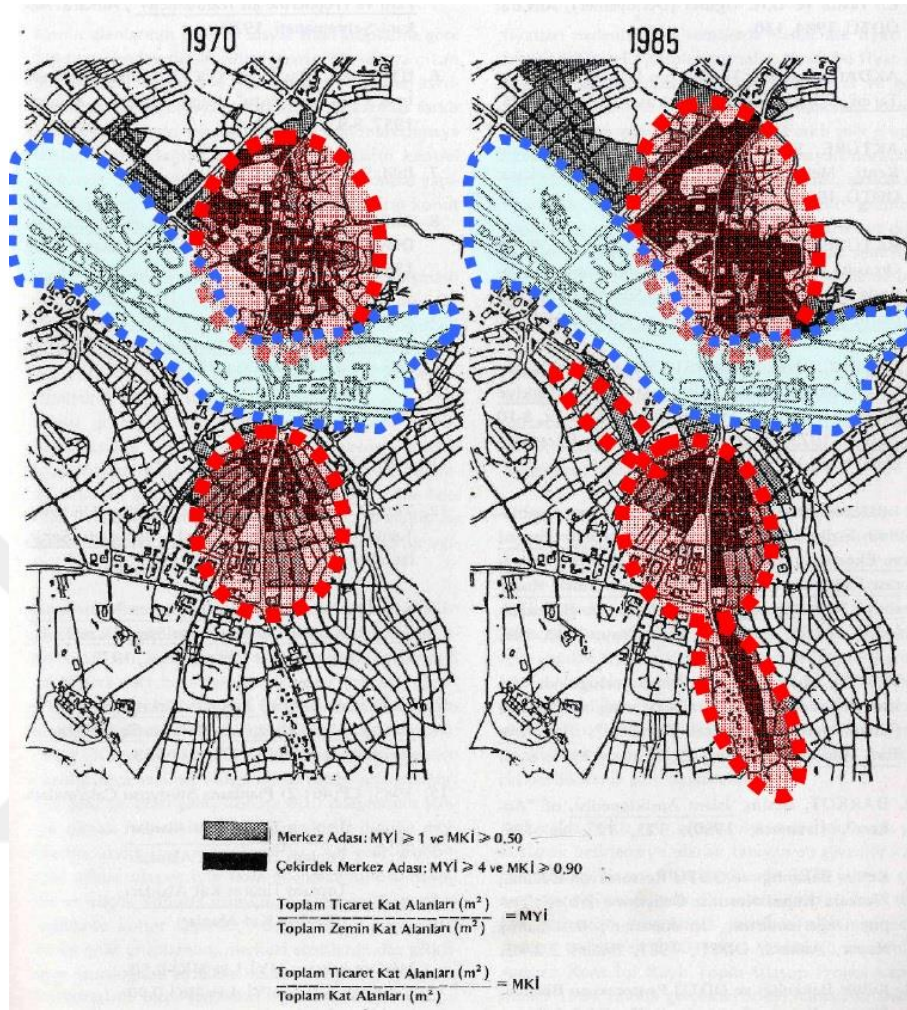


Figure 3.16: Comparison of the city centers of Ankara, 1970 and 1985 (Bademli, 1987).

Since the 1990s, factors such as, the growing mobility of the capital on a global scale, developments in information technology, the change of urban-regional relations, and the declining housing districts and business areas and shifting functions have been the reasons for the loss of Kızılay's efficiency in the central business district (Osmay, 1998). For this reason in the city, it is possible to say that Kızılay 's own spatial problems accelerate the dissolution in the center. Density, disorder and transportation problems have triggered the circulation of some functions in new centers. Along with the change of shopping habits, Kızılay has lost the status of being a shopping and commercial center of the city (Gökçe, 2005). Although the opening of Kızılay

Shopping Mall tried to adapt to changing shopping trends, it did not protect the value of the retail trade. Over time, its use for socio-cultural activities has diminished and Kızılay has become a less preferred center because of the reasons such as the decline of spatial quality and the limitation of pedestrian access. Besides these, it has lost the functions and qualities of the past, its urban and symbolic values, and the fact that it is a representative place of the nation-state.

Today, Kızılay is a center that is trying to survive with public use, with its cafe and pastry, professional chambers, some non-governmental organizations and some producers, mostly appealing to the middle class, and comes to the forefront with the use of forced use and transition (Gökçe, 2005). Influenced by the effects of liberal policies, the capital and the resulting urban speculation and land rent circulation, Kızılay became a city center, concentrated, and struggled with spatial problems. Later, neo-liberal politics lost the ability to focus on the consequential urban services and relations, Kızılay has become a dilapidated and dissolution central business district in terms of its spatial function and quality (Gökçe, 2005). Gökçe (2005) evaluates the result of the transformation that Kızılay faced with the lost as follows:

The place of urban production and sharing is a social center with no socio-cultural and social qualities yet is a breakpoint of production and struggle, and socio-economically and socio-spatially important, and place for aggregation of different groups and for the elimination of urban problems... (Gökçe, 2005, p. 82)

According to the definition of Bilsel (1997), the city center is a place where the qualities of the urban which are density, diversity and continuity, are perceived as spatial, social and functional. This definition can be used to describe Kızılay in a single-centered Ankara, which has not become a metropolitan city. But today, in a multi-centered city of Ankara, it is becoming difficult to read the qualities of urbanism in the context of Kızılay. The urban centers where the changes in the cities are observed most intensively are also controversial in the context of the function of the city's brain, functional integrity and network of relations (Gökçe, 2005). Today, Ankara is a multi-centered city where hierarchies and continuity cannot be observed between centers. It is understood from the text quoted from Gökçe above; social and public effects are lost in the urban space which is shaped by capital relations. The problems created by this situation need to be considered in the context of the city right, a view that requires sharing and continuity and the public interest. According to Gökçe

(2005), poststructuralist approaches do perceive this process of disintegration and consider the city center as the center of public and community interest in the context of urban rights versus capital movements and fragmented politics and unplanned forming.

2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan defines the central business areas should be handled separately and the Central Master Plan for revitalization, renovation and transformation must be prepared (ABB, 2006, pp. 305-306). It is understood from the plan report that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood is also included in the central business district area (ABB, 2006, p. 516). It is understood that there are anticipations about resolving the regional problems of Kızılay towards the future. In addition, due to the development of the city, collapse situation in central business areas should be examined and future-oriented strategies should be produced. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood's collapse process should be considered together with the city center Kızılay. It is important that the scenarios to be produced for these two interactive urban spaces are compatible with each other. For this reason, the urban development processes of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood should be examined and the steps to be taken towards the future of the area should be taken together with Kızılay.

The city center Kızılay is a special and important space as a social interface of the Republican history, representation of the nation-state and it summarizes the process of being a capital and urbanization of Ankara. And this space should not be left to land plot and land speculation, wrong transportation and planning policies. Social and democratic point of view should be taken into consideration and the urban space should be reinstated.

3.7 An Urban Loss: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood

It is possible to observe the intensification and the change of function of Kızılay and its surroundings over time in the constructions of Kumrular Street and Necatibey Street which surround Saraçoğlu Neighborhood. These regions, which were designed and used as low-rise residential areas in the early Republican period, have now turned into 8-10 floor apartment buildings and the use of housing has left its place to commercial and administrative uses. The surrounding residential areas have been transformed into buildings where housing and commerce, or housing and office, have taken place.

Today Saraçođlu Neighborhood is the only residential area in Kızılay and its surroundings. The face of the area, which is adjacent to the Bakanlıklar Area, maintained its presence by not changing until today. However, it is known that since the ministries determined in the Jansen Plan did not meet the needs of the region in the following years, separate administration structures and campus administrative buildings were added outside the Bakanlıklar Region. Designed as a recreation area opened to Güvenpark in the original design on the western side of the district, the administration building has been built over time. Today the Soil Products Office, General Directorate of Foundations, Turkey Export Bank, Ministry of Justice Annex Building, Social Insurance Institution and Supreme Court of Annex Building which are located within the boundaries of the neighborhood increase the density of the neighborhood (Figure 3.17). It also prevents the use of common areas and the integration with Güvenpark which is on the plan. It isolates the neighborhood by drawing a set and makes it difficult to perceive it. Güvenpark has also changed over time and today has less green area than its first appearance. In addition, the dolmuş-stops at the end of the park cause an intense disorder in the area.

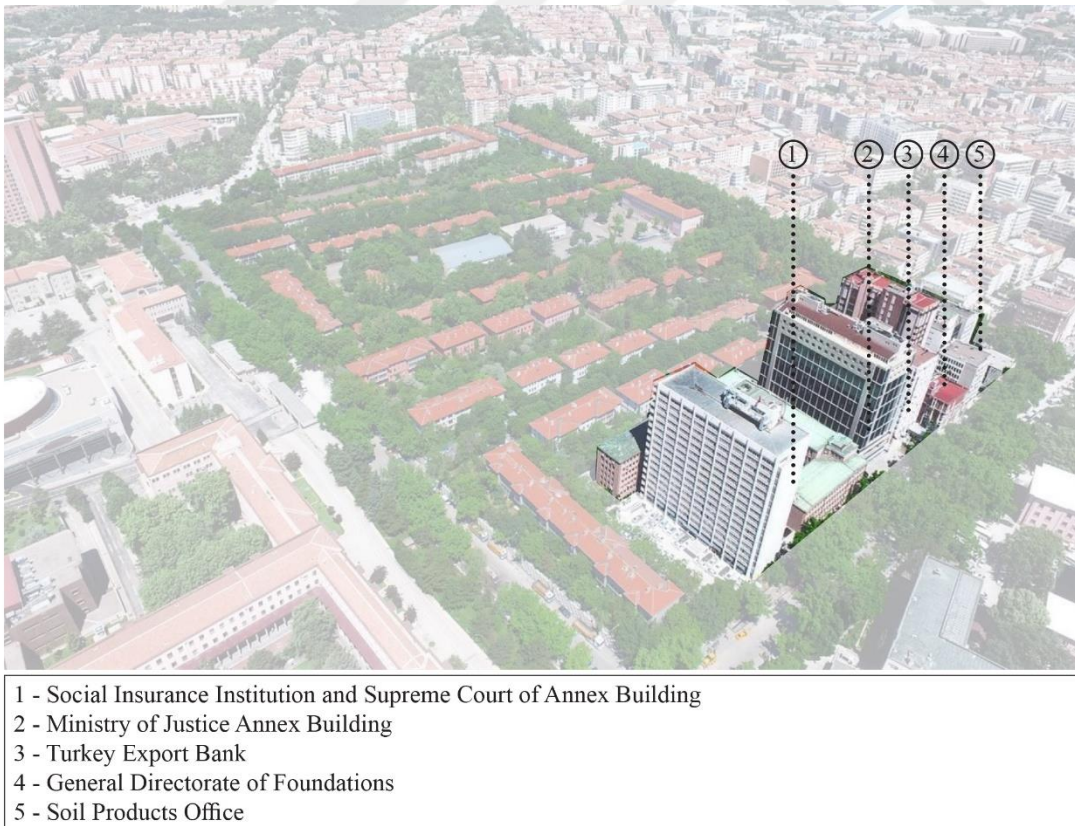


Figure 3.17: Administration buildings added over time.

Although the debates about Saraçođlu Neighborhood have increased with the announcement of the risky area, there have been many intervention attempts to the site. Bayraktar (2011) states that in 1950, Saraçođlu Neighborhood houses were offered for sale because of their high annual costs and that if they were not sold, it was suggested to be transformed into a tuberculosis pavilion. Bayraktar (2011) also stated that in 1954 the situation of these cheap rented properties for high salaried civil servants was criticized and a proposal was made for these officers to be removed from the neighborhood. It is understood that these two intervention experiments are cost-based and economic criticisms. In 1957, a law proposal was made to move some government offices in the rent to the houses in the neighborhood (Bayraktar, 2011). It is understood that this intervention initiative was in the direction of functional change. This law proposal coincides with the periods in Kızılay where trade was concentrated and housing areas were decreasing. It is understood that in the years when Kızılay's transformation into the central business district was started, there was an attempt to leave the use of housing in Saraçođlu Neighborhood to public buildings.

The years when Kızılay changed rapidly and became a central business area coincided with the years in which Saracoglu Neighborhood was regarded as an urban heritage. With the decision named A-1610 dated 14.4.1979 of the Supreme Council of Ancient Arts and Monuments of the Real Estate of the Ministry of Culture, the entire neighborhood was protected and designated as the 1st-Degree Urban Site (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 33) (Council of State, 2018). In the same year, chestnut and plane trees in the neighborhood were also registered as monumental trees (Ak Kuran & Kuran, 2017) (Council of State, 2018). On 2.3.1993, Çankaya Governorate and Namık Kemal Middle School were registered as immovable cultural assets by Ankara Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board¹⁵, because they were built in the same period and style as the other registered buildings (Erkan, 1997) (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 33) (Council of State, 2018).

On 12.5.1994, with the provisional Article-1 of the Law on the Sale of Public Houses and Social Facilities, which was accepted and discussed in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Saraçođlu Neighborhood's protected area decision has been

¹⁵ Ankara Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board will be Ciled as Board from this point.

removed and all the authority of the area was given to the General Directorate of Land Office (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 99). Temporary Article-1 is specific to Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and it was added to the law in the last time (Ak Kuran & Kuran, 2017). According to Tanrıverdi (2012, p. 100), there is no article in the law on the decisions of the protected areas in the regions that are subject to the sale of public housing, whereas the temporary Article-1 is specific to Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, not all public housing and social facilities, which is located in the center of Kızılay. The fact that the provisional article of the law is specific to Saraçoğlu Neighborhood suggests that the value of the plot due to the location of the neighborhood is high and that there is a serious expectation of a land rent with the influence of the neoliberal policies that have been rising since the 1980s. The state, which is obliged to protect the cultural and natural assets, makes the sale of the area possible by removing the decision of the protection and, this suggests that the decision is related to the political and economic expectations, from a far-reaching point related to scientific and social benefit. Along with this decision, architects, city planners, and society have started discussions about the preservation of cultural heritage (Erkan, 1997). With the TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch¹⁶, a part of the members of the parliament, the Board, the Çankaya Municipality, METU Faculty of Architecture and the public's reaction and intense opposition, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was excluded from the scope of the law (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 100). These controversies are remarkable in terms of enhancing conservation awareness and the impact as well as the strength of the urban opposition. It is also noteworthy that the land rent expectation can change the protection orders and it can be adapted to the law.

With the decision of Board on 13.04.2007 and number 2281, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was added to Bakanlıklar District which is the Administrative Site Area (ABB, 2006, p. 396) (Figure 3.18). It has been emphasized that the Bakanlıklar District and the Saracoglu Neighborhood should be treated as a whole and the site area must be protected and developed (ABB, 2006, p. 396).

¹⁶ TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch will be called as Chamber from this point.



Figure 3.18: Boundaries of Bakanlıklar District and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood administrative site area (ABB, 2006, p. 397).

It is possible to examine the interventions and the decisions made by the users and the interventions of the Board from the year 1994 until the present, from Tanrıverdi (2012, pp. 98-106)¹⁷. As a result of this examination, it is understood that the request for renewal and remediation of use has been approved by the board¹⁸, but the request to change the original design of the site has not been approved by the board¹⁹ (Tanrıverdi, 2012, pp. 100-106). It is seen that the parking lots which were intended to be built in

¹⁷ Tanrıverdi (2012, pp. 98-106) explains in detail in her thesis that the changes proposed by the users and the decisions of the Board; chronologically, decision numbers, reasons and applications.

¹⁸ Such as the replacement of the steel doors of building and apartment entrance doors, the replacement of wooden windows with wooden windows, water and sewage work in the neighborhood, landscape maintenance and repair works, replacing prefabricated buildings, wooden doors and windows with PVC.

¹⁹ Such as to make additional buildings and floors to the district office.

the streets and in the courtyards of houses were not approved before by the board but they were approved at the next agenda (Tanrıverdi, 2012, pp. 103-105).

It is understood that the interventions approved by the users and by the board were mainly about renewing the physical properties and materials while preserving their original design and form. The work that will damage the registered original design has not been applied thanks to the supervision of the board. It is seen that the requests communicated to the board generally relate to building facades, landscaping, infrastructure systems and open space use. No information has been found about the arrangements for the interior of the houses and a positive or negative opinion of the board about these arrangements. However, it is known that users have been involved in various interventions for interior materials and spatial organization, over time (Yücel, 2017).

Another intervention initiative to mobilize public opinion about Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was declaring the neighborhood as a risky area. With the decision of the Council of Ministers on January 28, 2013, the neighborhood was declared as an “area under disaster risk” (Madran, 2013) (Council of State, 2018). This decision was based on the grounds that “the construction has completed its economic life, the area was becoming to dilapidated, the collapsed areas have begun to form, (...) the construction on the area carries the risk of causing loss of life and property” (Batuman, 2014). The Law Concerning the Transformation of Areas under Disaster Relations is criticized for giving wide authority to TOKİ and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism, in terms of regulations that reduce the effectiveness of local governments, restricting freedom of right seeking and being on top of many other laws²⁰ (Ak Kuran & Kuran, 2017). This situation ignores Saraçoğlu Neighborhood's 1st-Degree Urban Site and brings the danger of destruction of the area by urban intervention with capital and land rent oriented. Ak Kuran and Kuran (2017) draw attention to this danger in the articles that investigate the relation between disaster law and the law with Saraçoğlu Neighborhood in detail:

It is clear that is desired with the dismissal of the twelve laws aimed at the protection, improvement and development of the environment in the previous case of the substance whose

²⁰ The Law on the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation is also in these laws.

law was canceled by the Constitutional Court in 2014. In other words, Saraçoğlu is intended to be shaped in accordance with the political will of the local judge and the interests of the global capital that this service serves, by removing the legal protection orders and the laws concerning protection. (Ak Kuran & Kuran, 2017, p. 1018)

Beyond the declaration of the risky area of the neighborhood, criticisms of the urban interests of particular focus, rather than scientific grounds, brought the urban debate along with the opposition about the area. The Chamber, who tried to make the neighborhood included in the city agenda by the Building Identities Talks (Bina Kimlikleri Söyleşisi) held in 2010 and which was about Saraçoğlu Neighborhood applied to the Council of State together with the residents of the neighborhood and the TMMOB Chamber of Urban Planners Ankara Branch for the cancellation of the decision (Batuman, 2014). With this process, the Chamber started an effective opposition for the relocation of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood to the city agenda and for the interest increase by the public to the area. In this context, while street acts were organized by Capital Solidarity, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was declared as the theme of the 8th-Urban Dreams Competition on 8 February 2013 (Batuman, 2014). In the contest specifications, the expectations about the area are expressed as follows:

Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which plays an important role in city history and life and still functions as a residence and has not yet completed its economic life, is designed to protect, maintain and live in a way that contributes to the liberation and enrichment of the daily life of urban people. (TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, 2018c)

The Chamber aims to find a solution that includes the actors of the city to the problems of the area as follows:

... this contest will also be an opportunity as a platform for urban residents, local administrators, public administrators, democratic mass organizations and civil initiatives to come together to discuss proposals for solutions in a collective process, to ensure that the urban lives and spaces we live in, which will enable the proliferation and widespread considerations of urban life and future. (TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, 2018c)

Based on the ideas and information obtained from the Urban Dreams Competition, the President, the Chamber, the Ankara Chamber of Commerce and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization started to negotiate the future of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Batuman, 2014). In October of the same year, the Council of State decided to cancel the declaration of the risky area by the local council with the reason

that it does not contain ‘‘scientific information about carrying the risky area feature’’. (Ak Kuran & Kuran, 2017). This decision, in the case of Saraçođlu Neighborhood, shows that the disaster legislation is used as an ineffective means of protecting legislation, far from improving and transforming risky areas.

Following the declaration of Saraçođlu Neighborhood as a risky area, the 1st-Degree Urban Site was reduced to the 2nd-degree on 12 September 2013 with the decision of the Preservation Board (Batuman, 2014) (Council of State, 2018). In 2015, when the 2nd-degree site decision was again changed to the 1st-degree with a court decision, the area was resurrected the same year with forced evictions of residents and residences (TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, 2015a) (Council of State, 2018). The damages to the building elements while the houses were being evacuated were documented with photographs by the Chamber. The forced evictions in the neighborhood continued despite the court's decision to stop the execution, and while the discussions on protection continued, the damage and careless treatment caused a reaction (TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, 2015b). Another issue concerning the area was the decision to transfer the real estate to Emlak Konut GYO and the decision by the Council of State to stop the execution (TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, 2018a). This decision was followed by the Council of State's rejection of the Council of Ministers' decision in 2014 on the ‘‘bring to the economy by removing the lodging allocations in Saraçođlu Neighborhood’’ (TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, 2018c). In 2018, a conservation zoning plan and a conservation application zoning plan were prepared (Council of State, 2018). TMMOB Architects Odasi Ankara Subasi has objected to the 1/5000 scale conservation zoning plan and 1/1000 scale conservation application zoning plan due to the parking under the area and the high construction permits (TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, 2018b). The Council of State has decided and approved that these plans are appropriate (Council of State, 2018). The Council of State has stated that the restoration plans should be prepared by preserving the original plans and facades, site characteristics and original design of the area (Council of State, 2018).

While the legal process continues, efforts are being made to integrate the area into the city under the leadership of the Chamber and Capital Solidarity, as well. Events

organized in the area such as festivities, gatherings, city trips, celebrations and photo days are initiatives aimed to organize the public opinion in order to open the public use of the community and to remain in the agenda of the city. In the process up to today, since the neighborhoods are declared as risky areas, the Chamber maintained its insistence on the appointment of the urban opposition, the multi-actor and participatory policies of the future of the neighborhood while continuing this struggle in both urban resistance and legal dimension.

Batuman (2014) states that the preservation of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood depends not on the speed of the judgment but on the organization of the public interest. For this reason, the debate over the area is often discussed in terms of publicity, urban culture, urban memory and conservation values of the area. The increasing lack of confidence in the intentions of decision makers and practitioners on the area, and the increased public awareness, especially after the Gezi Park events, make it logical to establish public organization through the protection of urban public and values and architectural heritage. Batuman (2014) describes preserving the modern architectural heritage as a process which is influenced by urban political struggles rather than technical issues. It is possible to say that this distorted state of preservation of modern heritage is shaped by the influences of political orientations, ideological approaches, capital and urban land rent. The approach of the current administration to the issue of protection causes the debates on the area to remain at the level of urban defense and the technical dimensions cannot be examined while the search for scientific and rational solutions cannot be produced.



Figure 3.19: Neglected houses in Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Başagaç, 2017).

However, it is known that there is physical and environmental wear of the area and they are waiting for a solution. These problems are mainly the physical deterioration of the buildings and dilapidation caused by the fact that the houses are not used (Figure 3.19). Indoors and facades, user interventions that are detrimental to the original design are observed as an indication of these buildings being inadequate in terms of usage. Another indication of an inadequate usage is the conversion of the lower floors of some buildings to commercial use. There is also a serious parking problem in the area. The neighborhood is filled with parked vehicles on the streets and the pavements, although the density is low and there is no user in the residences (Figure 3.20). This makes the pressure of the high density in the periphery visible on the neighborhood. The vacancy of the houses reveals security problems. Police are patrolling the streets to provide security in the neighborhood and prevent possible threats from accessing the inner gardens of houses and some streets.



Figure 3.20: Parking problem of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Başağaç, 2017).

It is not possible to handle Saraçoğlu Neighborhood separately from the city center. The neighborhood in Kızılay District was, of course, influenced by the changes and transformations occurred in the city center over time. When the changes and transformations of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood are examined, it can be said that the basic tension in the area is caused by the area's attempts to protect the current situation against the changes that Kızılay has undergone and the trends of contemporary urban transformation. This situation puts the neighborhood in a position that protects the values which Kızılay lost and even makes these values more prominent. For this reason, it becomes the center of the urban memory debate as a living example of the city's history. Yet, the same situation also creates the factors that put the neighborhood under pressure today. This contradiction in its situation enriches the urban debate about the neighborhood.

While the tendency to preserve the current situation of the neighborhood is mostly maintained through urban memory and urban opposition, interventions through urban transformation have been criticized for being land rent-oriented and not to be scientific. Due to the fact that it is mostly discussed on urban references, the architectural and technical dimension of the debate remains weak and these debates often do not include physical problems. It turns out that the debate turns into a rivalry between those who have authority over the area and those who oppose it, making it

difficult to solve the spatial and architectural problems of the area, and even preventing discussion platforms. It seems difficult to solve the problems of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood in the near future. The area is abruptly open to interventions and its future is uncertain. As a result, the neighborhood is trying to maintain its existence in the city center.

Table 3.2: Important dates for Saraçoğlu Neighborhood.

DATES	EVENTS
1944	Law No. 4626 on Officers' Houses
1944	Implementing Regulation No. 3516
1944	Beginning of the Saracoglu Neighborhood construction
1945	The first stage residential settlement was opened.
1946	The second stage residential settlement was opened.
1948	Adnan Otuken Library, the Cankaya District Governorate was opened.
1950	Proposal to sell and turn into a tuberculosis pavilion
1951	Namık Kemal Primary School was opened.
1954	Proposal for the removal of high salaried officials from the neighborhood
1957	A law proposal was made to move some government offices in the rent to the houses in the neighborhood
1979	Registration of 1st Degree Urban Protected Area
1993	Registration as immovable cultural assets of Cankaya Governorate and Namik Kemal Middle School
1994	The Law on the Sale of Public Houses and Social Facilities
1994	Neighborhood's protected area decision has been removed
1994	Prevent removal of protection order
2007	Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was added to Ministries District Administrative Site Area
2013	Neighborhood is declaring as a risky area.
2013	Neighborhood was declared as the theme of the 8th City Dreams Competition.
2013	Council of State decided to cancel the declaration of the risky area.
2013	The 1st-degree urban conservation area was reduced to the 2nd-degree.
2015	The 2nd-degree site decision was changed to the 1st-degree.
2015	The neighborhood started evacuating.
2018	The decision to transfer to Emlak Konut GYO
2018	The decision by the Council of State to stop execution
2018	Announcement of conservation zoning plan and conservation application zoning plan

4. CONCLUSION: ON THE FUTURE OF SARAÇOĞLU NEIGHBORHOOD

4.1 Perspectives on Kızılay and Ankara's Future

Today, the city center is decentralized excessively. Ankara is becoming an unsophisticated agglomeration where the whole and its parts developing intricate relations with each other. It is impossible to consider or manage any single-local part independent from the city as a whole, and vice versa. Any future prospect for Saraçoğlu Neighborhood needs to identify and investigate the parameters and factors of transformation of the city and the center.

In previous chapters, planned and unplanned interventions that directed the urbanization process of the city were examined. It is possible to propose some factors that would or had impacts over the development of the city and the city center.

The values attributed to urban space have been particularly influenced by the formation of the city center. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, Bakanlıklar District and Güvenpark are the spatial representations of the urban planning and reflect the ideology of the early republican era. Bakanlıklar District and Kızılay, however, have been losing their meaning values. Additionally, because of the rapid change of the city center, the region physically lost its urban references.

Spontaneous solutions emerged due to the unpredictable urban dynamics. With the uncontrollable rapid migration to the city, the city and the city center had changed quickly and irreversibly. The concentration of the city center with the demolition-building processes and the formation of land speculation along with the land rent expectancy have resulted in problematic environments unaesthetic and low-quality urban spaces.

It is not possible to handle the city center independent from the macro-level decisions and plannings. Inadequate and inflexible planning tendencies to adapt to the

unpredictable developments have not managed to the urbanization of the city. Lörcher, Jansen and Yücel-Uybadin Plan in particular, were found to be difficult to adapt to the changing urban dynamics, and these plans can be described shortly as inadequate. Other planning initiatives, instead of focusing on precise decisions about urban development, have identified resilient, holistic and developable strategies.

Intervention processes shaped by administrative and economic approaches have spatially influenced the city. Macro-level policies and economic approaches have influenced the planning of the whole city (Bilsel, 1997). It is unrealistic to not think of the political and economic conditions while creating strategies for the future of the city. But the effects of these conditions with the spatial situations that they can trigger can be analyzed by scientific studies.

The planning of the city and the implementation of the plan are long and decisive processes. A decisive management process is required for planning to be implemented as a whole. The partial application of the produced scenarios to the city center and the occasional contradictory the applications to the planning have both caused the new problems to the city center and the solutions defined in the plans could not be developed.

The harmony between management, planning and implementation is another factor affecting the development of the city. The inhibition of this process by conflicts between governances, political contradictions, and conflicts of authorities cause to prevent application of planned urban scenarios. The change of political tendencies also changes the urban politics and with the changes in management, urban strategies are changing, as well.

The internal dynamics of the city center are a factor that should be examined. Together with the strategic principles determined throughout the city, Kızılay's original and local dynamics are also leading the formation of the city center. The development potential of the place, the resulting loss of use of this potential values, user trends, current problems and urban qualities are the issues that should be addressed within the context of their own dynamics (Bilsel, 1997).

Certain factors and dynamics of the city's transformation have been outlined above. Based on them, it is now possible to propose strategies or principle for the future of Saraçoğlu Neighbourhood and city center. It is of importance to develop a holistic approach within historical, economic, social and spatial contexts.

Urban values and targets should be determined on the macro scale and these policies should be adaptable to urban changes, pressures, potentials and opportunities. In this context, alternative development strategies should be created and operational objectives should be defined (Bilsel, 1997). The authorities and duties of urban planning, implementation and management of planning should be regulated and controlled. Decisive, consistent and innovative approaches to planning, management and implementation should be developed for the planning of the city and city center to be successful.

The fact that there is difficult to follow momentum today, in terms of technology and innovation requires the assumption of the future cities having technology-driven changes rather quickly. With this assumption, urban planning and urban design should be considered outside of traditional patterns, including spatial alternatives and potentials created by technology.

Urban space should not be shaped by short-term political and economic decisions. Rather, it should be shaped by urban policy and urban economy management, which is determined by the knowledge of urban design and urban planning. When it comes to city planning and urban interventions, it is necessary to develop a perspective based on public interest.

In order to prevent land speculation and land rent pressures, solutions should be produced, that will increase public awareness, urbanism and urban awareness, as a balancer of these factors. It is not realistic to expect actions for the benefit of public interest from urban authorities, and actors directing the market in the urban space where liberal policies are effective. But raising awareness of the public sphere and the city right to control speculative and political urban interventions provides an important control mechanism for both the future of Kızılay and the long-term interests of the private sector.

The architectural context created by the early republic and the Jansen Plan was largely lost in the 1960s and after, with the demolition-building processes and rapid intensity increase in Kızılay and its environs (Günay, 2006). Bakanlıklar District, Güvenpark and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood are the urban spaces that physically reflect the early republican period and Jansen Plan (Figure 4.1). Spatially readable urban references to the early republican period should be accepted, protected and developed along with their initial meanings. These areas should be considered together with areas of interaction. These areas should be participate in the city life, preserving its spatial values and taking into account its historical and contextual meanings.



Figure 4.1: Yenişehir in Jansen Plan (on the left) (Cengizkan, 2010), Yenişehir, today (on the right) (based on Google-Earth, 2018).

The decreasing functional and spatial intensity of Kızılay should be considered in the context of its internal dynamics. Increasing intensity, public diversity and continuous use of the city center are important for Kızılay to release its potentials. In this context, operations that enhance public use and the physical quality and continuity of the public space are needed. The urban dynamics and social qualities of the area should be revitalized with strategies and arrangements such as increasing pedestrian access, supporting the center with commercial functions that are easy to use on pedestrians, becoming the meeting point instead of the transit point, increasing the open space and green area usage, increase of transportation and access.

Kızılay is the node and solution point of urban transportation as being the city center. Today Kızılay is mostly used as a transit point (Gökçe, 2005). It can be transformed into a place of common meeting and socialization for the city with both pedestrian and public transport arrangements. In order for this transformation to happen, Kızılay should be made into a more prestigious and attractive urban part. The characteristic of being Kızılay's business and commercial center should be considered together with public use, and these potentials should be evaluated with their own dynamics.

Another declining value of Kızılay is the feature of being a center of urban opposition and participation. When it looked at the other centers that emerged when Kızılay lost its former value; it is seen that they are not centers that attracting attention in terms of gathering, acting and reporting political opinions. This means that Kızılay's uniqueness in this sense should be regarded as a potential in the domain specificity, not a lost in value. In Kızılay, an environment in which the citizens can express their advocate or opposing views and support the participation of the city should be created.

The main thing is to prioritise the interventions to be made to the city center and to make production to support them. The city and city center will show a more consistent development if they are governed by holistic planning strategies, implementation decisiveness and continuity. The development of a variety of strategies that can adapt to different circumstances will ensure that lost values are gained back or that existing potentials are revitalized to achieve a sustainable and continuous urban center. It is necessary to regard the summarized proposal together with the existing factors and to combine Kızılay with the area of interaction around it. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which is within the interaction area of Kızılay, is evaluated as a whole with its surroundings just like Kızılay. It is a necessary point of view in terms of understanding the problems of the area, its oppressions and potentials.

4.2 Problems and Potentials of the Area

Samely with revealing the perspectives about Kızılay's future, the process beginning with a task of the area until today has been examined while creating principles for the future to gain Saraçoğlu Neighborhood to the city. This review was carried out with a reading between the city's development, Kızılay's change and the interventions made to the area. Physical and environmental problems and expectations about the area have

been discussed. The main objective is the focus on identifying factors and parameters of today's issues and problems for the future possibilities, opportunities and alternative projections related to the neighborhood. Each problem, potential, pressures and expectations on the area could be treated as a criteria that would help regain and set out the principles and approaches that will help to avoid similar problems in the future.

As a result of the investigations revealed in the previous chapters, it is understood that the existing problems of the neighborhood can be considered as potentials for the future. The problems and potentials of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood can be divided into three groups:

- Structure and design quality: The conditions of the architecture of the area, the urban design, the landscape and the quality of the building physics,
- Land use impact: The physical and functional problems that are determined after the evaluation of the area together with its surrounding area,
- Changing values: The changing spatial and social values of both the area and its surroundings.

While some of the problems studied in these three groups are expressed including the years when the area was being built, some of them point out that urban changes are the problems that emerged as consequences. In both cases, the identification of problems and their causes are important steps towards the solution.

It was mentioned in the previous chapters that architectural qualities and urban design principles of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood project received both positive and negative criticisms during its development and construction. While the spatial organization of the houses, the cost and the approach to the design of the traditional Turkish House were negatively criticized, the urban design of the neighborhood was welcomed.

It is seen that both architectural and urban design aim to build modern housing and neighborhood suitable for changing life conditions. This desire can be read in the urban design of the area through social facilities, open space and landscape arrangements, recreational areas and references to surrounding textures and urban landmarks such as Güvenpark and Ankara Castle. Designed with a combination of all private and public needs and a self-fulfilling neighborhood understanding, the area has the ambition to offer a comfortable living area to the new bourgeoisie and civil servants (Akcan, 2009,

pp. 362-363). Public buildings and urban landscape of increasing value over time, which has a unique density of green spaces in the city center, shows an innovative approach to the era in which it was built and is still use, are still the elements that allow the neighborhood to incorporate urban life.

In the houses, the requirements of the modern house through on the traditional interpretation of Turkish House for mass housing was tried to fulfill. Theoretically, the Second National Style argues that the spatial features of the Turkish House have the values that the modern architecture defends. However, Saracoglu Neighborhood housing claims to be modern, emerging with the architectural and political tendencies of the period. It was described as mediocre and formal copies of traditional architecture (Sayar, 1946). Although the houses built with the intention of being modern and comfortable, they were not created with useful spaces with neither the sizes nor the spatial organization. And it is known that the users of the area had various interventions in the spatial organizations to have more useful units (Yücel, 2017). Although the original design of the facade is preserved outside the small interventions, it has been found that the original materials and vitreous elements of the interior have been changed due to the lack of user comfort conditions in most of the dwelling units (Tanrıverdi, 2012, pp. 80-83).

Houses were constructed with brick walls and concrete flooring system (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 58). Electric, gas and central heating system provided an important comfort for the users in daily conditions (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 54). Over the past 72 years, having both the structural system and the plumbing system has become inevitable. Although the decision to carry the risk of disasters has been announced, the Council of State annulled this decision due to lack of scientific knowledge of whether the area is risky, so that information on the aging degree of the building physics and the structural system is not available. The fact that houses are not used since 2015 has negatively affected the building physics. Obsolescence and decay on the buildings have increased (Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2: Decay on the building facades (Başagaç, 2017).

Based on this information, it can be seen that the buildings have not provided spatial, structural and physical comfort for the housing function for many years. The fact that the public buildings in the neighborhood are still available despite certain problems²¹ have raised questions about the risk situation of housing structures. While Saraçoğlu Neighborhood has experienced structural problems, the settlement in Kızılay has increased and the urban green areas have decreased. In this process, the green texture of the neighborhood is increasingly intensified. Today, the landscape of the neighborhood creates a unique green pattern within the gray landscape of Kızılay.

The concentration of the surrounding and the transformation of the Necatibey region from residential use to business and commercial functions together with Kızılay have

²¹ For example, it is known that the district governorship structure was not enough, and applications were made to the conservation board to build up the floors and build additional buildings (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 101).

brought Saracoglu Neighborhood as the only residential area in the region. Bakanlıklar District and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood were independent from the changes observed in the overall Kızılay as a result of the triggering spatial change of free market conditions as they are a unit of the State District. This situation is observed as a spatial contradiction and tension between Kızılay region and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood. It is thought that the intensive management and trade function in the surrounding environment triggers a number of functional changes in Saraçoğlu Neighborhood. Out-of-home functions such as pharmacy, tea stove, education and health unit located on the ground floor of some blocks overlooking Kumrular Street are functional changes that eventually result in the change of the surrounding and the spatial inadequacies of the area.

Another functional change originating from the densities is the high-rise public buildings built on the Güvenpark-facing side of the neighborhood, which was designed as open space in the Bonatz's design. These structures are like a wall between Güvenpark and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood that weakens the perception of the area from the city center (Tanrıverdi, 2012, p. 19). On the other hand, it is also possible to say that, this wall keeps the area from the disorder and intensity caused by Güvenpark dolmuş-stops and makes the area calm and peaceful. Designed as a recreation area towards to Güvenpark, which supports the continuity of green space in Jansen Plan, has lost its urban references today. But this region can be considered as a buffer zone that protects the special areas of the region.

The increase in the density in the environment brought along the problem of traffic and parking. Today, when the neighborhood is visited, it is seen that the streets and roadsides are packed with vehicles, even parked on pavements. The noise pollution and the traffic intensity created by the dolmuş and the vehicles passing on the 94th-Street affects the area negatively. The 93rd-Street is closed to vehicle and pedestrian traffic and is in police control (Figure 4.3). The patrolling of the police on other streets also creates an uneasiness for the area. It has been observed that vacancy of houses, the occupation²² of some houses from time to time and constant police custody lead to

²² Although the use of vacant houses by the homeless is expressed here as an occupation, it is necessary to state that the police headquarters and the family health center, which maintain their existence in vacant housing areas, are in some kind of occupation.

uneasiness, even in those streets are not preferred to be used while walking in the streets of the neighborhood.



Figure 4.3: The 94th-Street and the 93rd-Street.

When the neighborhood and its surroundings are evaluated together, it is understood that the area has remained largely stable when the surrounding texture is concentrated and the land use is changing. The resulting contradictions are the main reason for the problems of the area. Physical and functional problems arising from change of land use causes should be considered as a factor triggering the transformation of the area. Current problems such as parking need, traffic intensity and security issues should be considered together with the reasons for participation in the transformational principles.

Along with the physical and surrounding problems related to the area, the change in the values of the area has been identified as another problem. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which reflects the values of the state and the prestige of the state official, became a representative of an architectural movement and an abandoned political regime, which had become obsolete with the end of the Second World War. Second National Style, which is regarded as an architectural reflection of nationalist tendencies that was

revolved around the relation of politics with architecture, has weakened with the change of political tendencies (Bozdoğan, 2002b, p. 315). So in the city center, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood turned into a physical representation of an obsolete architecture of the pre-war world (Nicolai, 2011, p. 299). Ankara and Kızılay, which has been transformed into the city center, have undergone a great transformation with the influence of rapid urbanization, while the values of representation have weakened. It is understood that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood does not have an effort or need to change, to seek new meanings and to transform. Even if the state authority was weak, the neighborhood continued to maintain its existence under state austerity. While Kızılay participated in the city as a public space and tried to protect its value in the city, it is understandable that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood does not participate in this conversion effort because it is not a public space. During the process that Kızılay has changed and transformed, the neighborhood largely preserved its usage value. Unlike Kızılay, the residences were used as long as civil servants have maintained their existence without a change both spatially and functionally as well as semantically. The buildings with functions such as the education and administration building in the neighborhood started to serve not only in the neighborhood but also in the city. Thus, the neighborhood partially responded to the city's expectations by expanding the service area of its public functions. Areas with private use, such as housing, are not affected from publicly demanding changes. Therefore, the neighborhood has continued to exist without feeling pressure to change for many years with the help of the housing function and the state support.

In recent years, it is not wrong to claim that the protective effect of the state has been removed together with the area's risky area declaration. It is understood that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood strives to acquire new meanings and values with the rent expectation and the effect of capital which is one of the important factors that triggers the transformation processes of Kızılay. In this context, the area draws public attention with the discussions by increasing its publicity. The city center and the representation values on the site are replaced by capital sourcing in the city center and the spatial changes directed by it. Inevitably, this affected Saraçoğlu Neighborhood. The land rent expectations and pressures on the area have led the area to seek a new identity and search for alternatives to urban and public order. In other words, semantically and

spatially varying values transformed into a problem for the area, and at the same time gave rise to pressures and opportunities for the area's future.

4.3 Opportunities and Pressures on the Area's Future Design

Examining the problems and potentials of the area requires a perspective that considers two opposing concepts. Instead of making a choice by excluding the problems and glorifying the potentials, they have been investigated through the coexistence of the situations. In this way, problems have arisen together with their causes and potentials they have created. It has been observed that the problems that arise cannot always be judged as negative, so some problems emerge with potential. The same situation can be seen in the relation between pressures and opportunities for the area. Situations that create pressure for the area's transformation also cause the area to draw attention with new and different interpretations and create new opportunities. It is possible to classify these situations as surrounding impacts on the neighborhood and declaration of the neighborhood as a risky area.

One of the things that can be described as an opportunity created by oppression is the pressure created by the density of the built environment. As explained in the previous sections, the concentration of the environment and functional changes have caused many problems in the neighborhood. In addition to the problems that arise, the environmental quality of the area has become more valuable as the surrounding has become more intense.



Figure 4.4: Urban pattern of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Üreten Ankara, 2018).

Saraçoğlu Neighborhood is one of the rare remaining areas of the urban core of Ankara, the urban republic created by the early republic. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood creates a much more scaled and a balanced urban pattern with the use of building mass and void design in the face of the settlement texture which has high-rise buildings and a limited use of open spaces in today's city center. The neighborhood is exposed to pressure through land value and land rent expectation because it has a much less sparse settlement than the surrounding texture. At the same time, the high density of the green texture of the area and the isolated situation from the surround offer different opportunities for the city center. The monumental trees of the area, quiet streets and low-density have a public appeal as a feature opposite to the intricate and intense atmosphere of the city center (Figure 4.4). In other words, although the high density in the surrounding region is suppressed as the neighborhood becomes a high-density settlement, the density-based problems of the city center make the low-density texture of the area valuable. Density and functional problems and pressures contain scenarios of transforming by preserving the less intense state of the neighborhood.

In addition to the intensification of the physically built environment, land use in the surrounding of the neighborhood has also changed. It is thought that the transformation of the surrounding residential areas into office and commercial areas triggers the neighborhood to transform housing use into commercial use (Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5: Some of the houses on the ground floor have used for commercial purposes in Saraçoğlu Neighborhood (Başağaç, 2017).

Although the neighborhood is located close to the city center, which is where the publicity is most observed in the city, the public functions of the area are limited. At the same time, the economic impact of the housing usage is very small. It appears that the area is under the functional pressure of change not only because it does not participate economically in the city center, but also because of its low public function. The fact that the houses are not useful spatially and are not profitable due to being lodgements makes it more likely for the area to undergo a change of function to contribute to the urban economy. Although this situation raises the possibility of transformation in the direction of the rent suppression and economic interests, it also offers an opportunity to increase the publicity of the neighborhood and to participate in the city center and urban life. It can be said that economic expectations and functional pressures have created a potential for functional transformations for the neighborhood, economically sustainable and increasing the urban and public values of the city center.

Another issue that comes to the agenda when questioning land rent and the public relation is the risky domain declaration of the area. Although the Chamber argues that

this decision poses a major threat to the region, it brings about further developments along with the urban qualities to the area, and the intervention has become an opportunity by considering different solution alternatives. The efforts to transfer the area to different institutions, to overcome urban conservation decisions, to evacuate and demolish houses and to plunder Ankara's urban heritage in recent years²³ threatens the future of the area. However, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood continues to exist with legal struggles, efforts of professional chambers, and organization of public opinion.

The urban opposition organized after the risky area announcement of the area is carrying out various studies to participate in the public life of the area. Mostly the works of the Chamber, the TMMOB Chamber of City Planners Ankara Branch and the neighborhood residents and the works for the developing and aimed to increase the public activities and the publicity of the area through their organization promises that the area can become a public focal point. The opposition, action, and reactions to the neighborhood to physically occur in the neighborhood requires Saraçoğlu Neighborhood to be considered as the organizing venue for the urban opposition. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood's potential should be regarded as both an opportunity to regain the lost value of Kızılay, and as the potential for the city center to gather, act, and express political opinion.

As Saraçoğlu Neighborhood has not yet collapsed and its future remains unclear in the city center, future discussions and solutions continue to be sought for. Therefore, these discussions provide the hope that the neighborhood will be removed from being a collapsed area in the city center. The reason why Saraçoğlu Neighborhood has not been destroyed is considered to create hope for its future, rather than a decision made on its destruction. It is believed that there is not enough technical and scientific information available to indicate whether to demolish it or not. For this reason, since no intervention has been made despite the suppression, it is worth to stand and not be demolished. The physical preservation and restoration of the structures in the neighborhood ensure that the conservation consciousness and historical values are updated and interpreted. The demolition alternative offers the opportunity for the

²³ In recent years, applications such as EGO hangars, the gas plant, the demolition of the water strainer are significant losses in the name of urban heritage. These practices, each opposed by the profession chambers, could not organize the attention of the public sufficiently and were quickly demolished and erased from the city memory.

change and renewal to start. However, it is argued that the protection or the destruction should be both in the public interest and make a positive contribution to the public characteristics of the neighborhood. The fact that the predominant expectancy of the area's transformation is land rent-oriented, and a decision of destruction made with this expectation would destroy the urban potentials.

Because of the pressures in the area, it can be crucial to discuss the Saraçoğlu Neighbourhood as a form of urban defense for the protection of the urban area (Batuman, 2014). Problems and pressures, however, should not be excluded while scenarios for the area's future are being determined. The pressures on Saraçoğlu Neighborhood provide the opportunity for the area to re-participate the city life. Every intervention increased the attention on the neighborhood and caused urban controversy. It is understood that the emerging problems and pressures provide a continuity that influences the results with a change in urban space by creating potentials and opportunities for the future.

4.4 Principles for a Sustainable Solution of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood

The discussions for the future of the area are mostly focused on the opposition of the destruction and conservation of the community. This is causing the debate on the neighborhood to be dealt with on a political ground. But it is important to consider the technical aspects of the future. Housing system and public buildings in the neighborhood should be analyzed in detail for structural system problems and it should be determined whether the physical conditions for preserving the construction have been met as a priority. Strategies can be developed on the basis of the complete destruction, full protection or partial preservation based on sufficient scientific information to enable the determination of physical conditions. Tanrıverdi (2012, p. 135) argues that in the study of the thesis, the existing functions of the housing blocks are preserved and can be restored to be optimized for the original design.

The discussions about adding the neighborhood to the city life mostly focus on the value of the area and the function change proposed to increase these values. Erkan (1997) suggests that the neighborhood can be revitalized with different functions (street cafes, tea houses, exhibition areas, restaurants, etc.) and become a focal point by joining the city again. Bayraktar (2011) states that the area should be considered

together with Kızılay, and both the neighborhood and Kızılay can be transformed into a day-and-night living area by providing the residences in the neighborhood as student and artistic dormitories. Madran (2013) on the other hand, argues that the values that make Saraçoğlu Neighborhood a cultural asset should not be converted into land rent. Madran (2013) describes these values as historical value, memory value, originality value, rareness value, document value, economic value, functional value and continuity value.

It is possible to multiply these examples of proposals for the area's future as each expresses and contains views that prioritize the different values of the area. In order to prepare the transformation scenario of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, transformation strategies and methods should be determined first. Identification of research, planning, designing and producing methods and development of models are important for a successful implementation. The transformation process should be considered as a comprehensive whole, and each phase of the process should be organized with the aim of serving the identified goals and principles. By developing different alternatives that provide the identified objectives and principles, multidimensional solutions should be developed for both the foreseen and unpredictable problems of the area that may occur in the future.

Rather than introducing a new proposal on the area's transformation within the scope of this thesis, it has been tried to derive the principles that should include the strategies and methods that determine the area's future. These principles are based on the dynamics and factors associated with the area's past. The common values and principles that should be included in whatever form and manner of intervention in the neighborhood can be proposed as follows:

- Balanced policies,
- Local dynamics and holistic approaches,
- Built environmental quality,
- Functional regulation alternatives,
- Flexible scenarios and alternatives,
- The readability of urban values,
- Participatory processes,
- Multi-dimensional sustainability,

- Stability of authorities.

These principles have emerged as a result of evaluating the problems and potentials of the area along with the pressures and opportunities on the area. And these reviews should be regarded as a key to generate integrated scenarios aimed to eliminate the identified problems, to respond to pressures, and to empower potentials and opportunities. The identified principles can be considered as interrelated and reproducible contents, each of which contains other sub-principles. In order to understand these contents, it needs to be examined in detail.

When a roadmap for the future of the area is drawn, a balancing policy on targets and concessions needs to be established. During the formation of urban space, various criteria, actors and the balance of power along with the priority between them play a role. The continuity of the socio-political, economic and geographical factors affecting Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and the management of the urban value on the basis of public benefit will lead to the control of the transformation process. Decision-making actors of the neighborhood and the problem-pressure/potential-opportunity duality, create also require a balance. For example, it should be ensured that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood responds optimally to the land rent expectation at the city center, assuming that it is not realistic to reject the capital-based requirements of the city center. Instead of completely refusing the expectant, optimizing concessions can be made to balance the expectations and targets in order to prevent the place from being shaped by the land rent expectation. Solutions for the future of the area might be successful if a balance between public benefit and private sector interests is established.

Solutions based on local values and the impacts of urban decisions on the area are also a matter to be considered on the basis of interaction and balance between them. Policies should be produced to prevent the dynamics of urban areas from being ignored, or to prevent the area from being shaped around its own internal dynamics.

For the future of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, the interaction of the area with its own dynamics and surroundings is important. The neighborhood's surroundings and the interaction with Kızılay are the determinants of the urban qualities of approaches to be produced for the area. From the initial planning and reconstruction experiences of Ankara to the rapid concentration of the city and the examination of its growth process,

it has been seen that the decisions made in the city scale are effective in transforming the city center. Kızılay also affected the Saraçoğlu Neighbourhood, and showed that the city has a chain interaction in the center of the city and in the neighborhood. For this reason, considering Saraçoğlu Neighborhood together with Kızılay brings out the mutually reinforcing urban potentials²⁴.

It is not enough to plan the problems of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood alone or only with the city center. It has been understood that the strategies that were produced for the city center have been and should be compatible with the strategies developed for the city as a whole and should support each other. While developing integrated approaches to the solution of problems and policies for the future in harmony with urban scale decisions, internal dynamics of the area should be considered as supporting these approaches.

The area's own dynamics are interpreted in the context of its interaction with its surrounding. But this is also related to the physical conditions of the neighborhood. The physical conditions of the buildings should be considered with both the landscape values and environmental quality, as well as, with the change in both in time and the neighborhood's surroundings.

It has been more than 70 years since the date of the construction of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood. During this time, the structures are physically outdated, worn and the physical quality standards are reduced. This affects the conditions of use for the structures adversely and leads to the need for physical healing. Constructions can be re-animated by increasing their physical quality so that their original designs are not damaged. It is also possible to claim that the structures had completed their economic life and the usage and comfort conditions cannot be achieved by physical improvements. This assumption is preferred by the local community needs to ignore the historical quality and values, and it needs to produce criteria and values to fill in the values that are lost. Since the area is an urban site and it is a living document reflecting the architecture of the early Republican period, it should first be examined with regard to the technical aspects of restoration of buildings. After this review, it can

²⁴ For this reason, the Chamber decided to participate in the project area of Kızılay Urban Square Competition, which was opened in 2009, in order to design the potentials that will revitalize the use of the area as a city square (TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, 2018a).

be determined that the constructions have completed their lifespan or not. Only after this determination, alternatives to the destruction of structures should be assessed and scenarios should be produced to add value to the city.

In both alternatives, it is expected that the neighborhood must provide the necessary conditions to overcome physical and environmental problems and to increase its potentials. The aging and damage that developed over time should be repaired, and the decay and ignorance that appear in unused structures should be remedied.

The open spaces and landscapes of the neighborhood are thought to be a value that is expected to be actively used against the lack of green space in the city center. It is possible to obtain continuity of green area and recreation area by taking the green texture of the area together with Güvenpark, Güvenpark dolmuş-stops and even Semih Balcıoğlu Park in the direction of Necatibey Street. A green axis that relaxes the intense and complex atmosphere of the city center as well as produces a variety of spatial uses with various arrangements is an axis that adds value to both the public use of the city center and its microclimate.

The current parking lot and the traffic problem around the city should be solved by considering the city center's transportation strategies together. The traffic pollution created by Güvenpark dolmuş-stops and dolmuş routes on the neighborhood should be rehabilitated or removed. Based on pedestrian circulation, multi-dimensional spatial uses should be obtained by underground, above ground and grade crossing (on the same level) access and transportation arrangements. If necessary, the minibus routes should be changed and the entire or part of Kumrular Street, 93rd-Street, 94th-Street and 95th-Street should be closed to traffic, or traffic speed and number of lanes should be reduced.

Intervention patterns with the physical problems of the area should be handled in parallelism with the function of use. The solutions that will enhance the physical comfort of the built environment should be developed by evaluating functional arrangements together. Regulations on the landscape are argued to be a matter that should be intervened by thinking more jointly with the city center and public use. The enhancement of physical improvement and environmental quality standards are related to the principles of the future of the area. In this regard, the roadmap should be

produced by evaluating the area together with, the identified principles, and the determinations made in the previous sections.

The difficulty of maintaining the purpose of the residential function in the neighborhood, the proposals for the functional change in the previous years, and the effects on the area of the functional changes in the environment were explained in the previous sections. It is known that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood housing plans do not contain spatial organizations suitable for housing function. This incompatibility between the function and the spatial organization has caused changes in forms that are not compatible with protection principles. For this reason, functional changes to be adapted to the changing living conditions of the area should respond appropriately to spatial needs to the new functions. While producing perspectives for functional regulations, the spatial effects of changing functions should be investigated.

Suggestions made about the functional transformation of housing in the neighborhood include alternatives such as increasing public use, using houses as a public domain or social service area. It is necessary to increase the proposed use of the area, to increase functional diversity, and to discuss the alternatives produced on the basis of urban center contribution, public benefit and commercial return.

One of the most visible reasons why Saraçoğlu Neighborhood is under the threat of demolition today is that it cannot contribute economically to the city center where it is difficult to resist the land rent. The fact that the city center is an area where the capital circulation is intensive indicates that there will be future expectations based on land rent on Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which develops together with the center. For this reason, the commercial value and prestige of the neighborhood should be increased, and it should be ensured that it responds to land rent pressure by creating its own economic value. The first solution that comes to mind is to convert the neighborhood by increasing the density of the area. However, since the 1950s, the intensity of Kızılay has been continuously increased with rapid urbanization and land rent expectation that has risen by this method. As a result, Kızılay has become a center of low-quality standards of urban space and has been experiencing both economic and socio-cultural problems. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood is opposite to the general urban life in Kızılay and its surroundings. It has a human scale with low density and has a peaceful and calm urban environment with its landscaping. It is possible to participate in the city

economy by preserving this features of the neighborhood. For this reason, the functional arrangements should be discussed by increasing the economic value, preserving the urban life and considering the public interest.

The neighborhood with the housing and social facilities required by it composed an area that lives 24/7. When the housing function was abolished in the neighborhood, security problems arise and it became an area that was not used at night. For this reason, new suggestions for safe use of the neighborhood both day and night should be included in the agenda. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood can become a perpetual living area by being supported by dwelling functions such as hotel, student residence, dormitory without being transformed into land rent. Today, Kızılay is a center that is not used overnight except for a few spatial focuses. The functional transformation of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood should produce a continuously living city piece by protecting and improving its urban values and this production should trigger the transformation of Kızılay and its surroundings. It is necessary to seek ways of increasing the economic value of the neighborhood, preserving urban life and becoming a living space during day and night, taking into account the public interest by means of functional regulation.

Since the increase of the publicity of the neighborhood is part of the city center, it should be regarded as a factor strengthening the participation of the area in urban life. Moreover, the fact that the area cannot participate in urban life with public functions causes to the area to be difficult to be used, defended and adopted by the citizens. When the government removes the increasing publicity alternative of the neighborhood, the values attributed by the public will provide protection again.

It is seen that both the design criteria and the spatial organization of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood cannot meet the needs of the city which changes over time. It is expected that a design made with the exit point that conforms to the changing times and conditions will be changed and adapt to the urban life for many years. Although the present neighborhood cannot show this harmony, the future design of the neighborhood should have a high adaptability to changing needs and conditions.

Given that the rate of change of cities has increased exponentially, the capacity of adaptability and flexibility has become even more important. Programs that enable spatial, functional, and technological neighborhoods to adapt to unexpected conditions

and rapidly changing cities should be developed, and design should be made timeless by increasing flexibility and adaptability capacity should be created. In this context, strategies that can adapt to changing conditions should be developed. Scenarios that can be updated according to time-varying conditions through the production of alternative scenarios should be realized.

The transformation scenario that will be produced by evaluating the neighborhood with the city center has a potential to change its urban behavior and habits. The protests that continue to defend the area, public events held in the area, and efforts to draw attention to the idea of city right and urbanism show that Saraçoğlu Neighborhood supports the urban characteristics of Kızılay, which are being tried to be increased.

With the change of shopping habits and the change in the way of using urban space, Kızılay has experienced various spatial transformations. Although Kızılay tried to change with the movements such as the opening of Kızılay Avm, it was not successful. Kızılay Shopping Mall does not add extra value to the region and it affects the pedestrian and vehicle traffic around it negatively. The usage habits, location, spatial and sociological characteristics of Kızılay may have caused Kızılay Shopping Mall from turning into a profit-making tool as the other malls in any part of the city. For this reason, the options such as the transformation of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood into a shopping center by demolishing or making spatial arrangements without demolishing can not be affective. If there is a need to consider the transformation of the neighborhood as a means of land rent, it should be transformed into an opportunity that will contribute to the socio-economic values and user diversity of Kızılay.

The neighborhood can be an assembly and a sharing area that fosters the city center and coexists with it if its urban qualities are revived, so it may become an urban focus. Saracoglu Neighbourhood, in the scenarios produced while planning its future, should be considered as an area where diversity and continuity can be observed, has a density that allows a socio-cultural contribution to the city center, allowing continuous use. Today it is not possible to observe concepts such as user diversity and optimal functional density in Kızılay. However, the center of the city, Kızılay and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which is a place to contribute to improving the city center, should have user diversity, spatial continuity and density to keep the area alive. Only in this way

the neighborhood can participate in urban life and turn into an area where the urban residents are visible and the urban qualities are superior.

If Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, as a valuable example for Ankara in the organization of public opinion, undergoes a transformation in order to increase its urban and public qualities, this transformation should only be possible with the common contributions of the actors of the urban space and with the participatory and democratic processes produced. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood has a common value and urban heritage of the city. The neighborhood, which has unique values in the city center, is an area where not only particular people but also all citizens have a voice. Urban residents, local governments, political will, non-governmental organizations, universities and civil initiatives need to come together for the proliferation of applicable ideas about the area. The creation of a platform in which the future of the neighborhood is questioned and the proposals for solutions are discussed with collective processes will be a valuable contribution to finding solutions to the problems, corruptions and deprivations that the area is facing as a result of unplanned proposals.

The stated sustainability principle includes not only ecological sustainability but also the production of models that provide economic, sociological, cultural and spatial sustainability. The flexibility expected from the future design of the area is a motto that can be evaluated along with sustainability. The expectation that the design is flexible enough to adapt to unanticipated effects over time is also a condition to organize the sustainability of the area's presence in the city center.

Given the impacts of changing economic approaches and shopping habits, it is expected that the area will develop sustainable models and value production capacity that can be adapted to economic changes. Changes in economic habits or approaches trigger socio-cultural changes and these changes are seen in the form of differentiation of the ways of using urban space in the city center. It is difficult to say that Kızılay and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood can update themselves to respond to changing spatial uses. But the city center and Saraçoğlu Neighborhood have the capacity and potential to adapt to socio-cultural and spatially changing conditions. The expectation of the production of economically sustainable solution models should be considered to include socio-cultural influences and spatial continuity.

It is thought that ecological sustainability should be achieved as another branch of multi-dimensional sustainability. Today, it is not possible to talk about the micro-climatic effects or ecological sensitivities in the center due to the intensive construction of Kızılay and its surroundings, and the diminution or disappearance of green areas over time. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood makes a positive contribution to city ecology with its dense green areas. This contribution should be expanded and covered as a design criterion to encompass the environment of the area and to provide ecological sustainability both structurally and spatially.

The sustainability criterion, which is assessed in different aspects, has an impact that strengthens the ability of the future design of the area to adapt to time and space. Providing versatile sustainability, flexible scenarios and alternative roadmaps will ensure that adaptation to the expected time and conditions will evolve to achieve temporal and spatial continuity.

The success and contribution of the strategies and principles depend on the commitment to implementation and the consistency of the progress of the process. After Saraçoğlu Neighborhood was declared as a risky area, the search for solutions for the future of the area was clogged due to the inconsistent attitude of the political will in seeking a common solution. For this reason, the determination of the authorities and decision-makers and public on the area is essential when the determined principles and targets are in practice. In this context, in order to improve the existing condition of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and reintegrate the area to the city, the whole process should be managed and implemented with stability. Each stage of implementation and necessary arrangements at each scale should be arranged in detail. It must be ensured that the transformational models are realistic and feasible in order to expose the potentials and solve the problems. The steps and priorities of the transformation process must be determined consistently. Short, medium and long-term priorities and policies should be identified and regulations should be implemented accordingly.

While discussing the future of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, it is aimed to determine the causes and consequences of existing problems, oppressions, opportunities and potentials of the area, to eliminate the problems and to increase the potentials for the area. Approaches, principles and strategies to achieve these goals have been identified. These principles which were laid down by the assumption that the future processes,

interventions, values and duties of the community cannot be completely controlled, are considered as flexible, reproducible, interpretable and developable as possible. In process management, operational approaches with the ability to adapt to unexpected effects should be taken as a basis. It is expected that ideas that assess the future of the area are expected to be reproduced by continuing the same inclusion and flexible thinking system, both in the interpretation of the determined principles and in the implementation steps.

4.5 Prospect of a Future Urban Neighborhood: Saraçoğlu Neighborhood

Through this thesis, the content of the vicious discussions about the neighborhood of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which is about the destruction or the protection of the neighborhood, has been expanded. The area assessed in time and space integrity has been subjected to a comprehensive and multi-faceted questioning. The results of research on different themes related to architecture such as historical and cultural values of the neighborhood, building physics and design, landscape values, urban references, public organization and state intervention were interpreted in the future of the area. While developing a perspective on the future of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, the aim was determined not to protect the physical state but to protect its values. Rather than generating a transformation scenario, principles on the strategies and methods that should be included in the transformation are proposed.

The aim of the thesis was to create a perspective for the future of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood by examining the past and present of the area. It has been argued that the assessments of the future of the area cannot be considered separately from the past and the present. Historical evaluation of the area based on urban planning experience of Ankara has been inevitably associated with the development of the city center. This relationship has provided a way to review the city's change, parallel to the area and the elements that trigger spatial changes. That would help to understand the causes of the current situation of the area. In this way, area-specific deductions were guided both for the future of the neighborhood and its surroundings and for similar urban areas.

The neighborhood which is in the area of interaction of Kızılay has been influenced by the changes that the Kızılay had so far. It is argued that the two areas will interact with each other in the future. For this reason, the transformation or improvement

scenario to be produced for Kızılay has been evaluated together with Saraçoğlu Neighborhood.

While the future of Kızılay is being assessed, it has been argued that the factors affecting the city center so far will be effective in the future, as well. It is of importance to develop a perspective on the management, interpretation, updating and control of these factors. A view of the current inadequacies and the acceptance of planned or spontaneous impacts has been provided to set forth flexible, feasible and realistic goals. These goals can be summarized as; to achieve a sustainable and environmentally interactive city center, to interpret lost values and increase existing urban potentials and process management in which alternative strategies are produced and priorities are determined and applied.

Perspectives have been developed for the future of Kızılay by taking the city and the city center together. It is possible to say that these perspectives cover targets to be produced for the future of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood. As a matter of fact, while determining the principles for the future of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, just as it is for Kızılay, it is necessary to develop an attitude that does not exclude inadequacies and negativities and takes advantage of the dynamic of factors affecting the area.

While investigating the current state of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and dreaming the future of the area, it was aimed to reintegrate the area into the city and to increase the capacity to create solutions for unforeseen problems that can be encountered in the future. In order to achieve this aim, it has been followed with solving the existing problems of the area, responding to the pressures and anticipations in the area, to increasing opportunities and potentials for the area. Each finding of those steps, Saraçoğlu Neighborhood in parallelism with Ankara and Kızılay constitute the grounds for the principles of transformation and future of the area. The problems of the neighborhood and the potentials it possesses were examined by the groups of; structure and design quality, surrounding effects and changing values. Pressures and opportunities on the neighborhood were interpreted through relations with the surroundings, function-oriented discussion and organizations triggered by risky area announcement.

Current problems of the area were discussed together with their potentials. The pressures affecting the future of the area and the opportunities that these pressures have

provided have been evaluated together. It has been understood that the causes, objectives and consequences of the problem/potential and pressures/opportunity dualities trigger each other. Therefore, the cause-effect and the objective result continuity were maintained and the principles of the future of the area were determined. These principles generally include determination of the principles of physical intervention, process management planning, attitudes towards urban values and ability to adapt to time and change.

Principles are interconnected and constitute a whole. The generated transformation scenarios should be created on the basis of the synergies of those principles. The principles that can be assessed through different criteria have a rich and efficient content in terms of the discussions they produce. It is possible to illustrate the contents of the debate on the future of the area as follows:

- Relationship with the city center: Contribution to the city center, public utility and commercial return,
- Urban values: Density, continuity and diversity of the area,
- On Conservation: Urban heritage and socio-cultural values,
- The relationship between government and opposition: Political will, state intervention in the public sphere, corruption, public organization, collective production,
- Future of urban space: Urban space, using habit space, urban landscape and urban ecology, the sufficiency of capacities.

It is argued that the formation of urban space cannot be audited by strict rules. It is possible to foresee the future of urban space. This perspective enables the development of the goals and principles of the future of the area with the concepts of flexibility and adaptation. The transformation principles define a general framework in which transformation scenarios should be evaluated when they are produced. This framework is not a rigid and precise line, but an area whose boundaries are ambiguous and stretchable. With this state, each principle has a quality that can be interpreted and improved. The flexibility of the principles laid down by this thesis allows for the enrichment of theoretical and conceptual debates. These contents can be helpful not only for the future of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood but also for similar urban areas under risk of collapse

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